









THE JOURNAL

OF THE

**British**  
**Archaeological Association,**

ESTABLISHED 1843,

FOR THE

ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES  
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE  
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.



**VOL. XXVI.**

London:

PRINTED FOR THE ASSOCIATION.

MDCCCLXX.

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T. RICHARDS, 37, GREAT QUEEN STREET



1870

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## ERRATA.

- Page 72, bottom line, for "puzzle-ring" read "puzzle-jug".
- „ 74, l. 36, for "seem" read "seen".
- „ 88, l. 8, for "once" read "one"; l. 40, for "Charles" read "Carlos".
- „ 210, l. 34, for "from" read "for".
- „ 232, ll. 19, 21, for "tribun" read "tribune".
- „ 240, l. 3, for "Henry William Humfrey" read "Henry William Henfrey".
- „ 241, l. 5, for "Romanorum" read "Romanarum"; l. 33, for "of" read "to".
- „ 254, l. 4 from bottom, after "spade" insert "and".
- „ 264, l. 9 from bottom, *dele* "and".



1870.

## British Archaeological Association.

THE BRITISH ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION was founded in 1843, to investigate, preserve, and illustrate, all ancient monuments of the history, manners, customs, and arts of our forefathers, in furtherance of the principles on which the Society of Antiquaries of London was established; and to aid the objects of that institution, by rendering available resources which had not been drawn upon, and which, indeed, did not come within the scope of any antiquarian or literary society.

The means by which the Association proposed to effect this object are :

1. By holding communication with Correspondents throughout the kingdom, and with provincial Antiquarian Societies; as well as by intercourse with similar Associations in foreign countries.

2. By holding frequent and regular Meetings for the consideration and discussion of communications made by the Associates, or received from Correspondents.

3. By promoting careful observation and preservation of Antiquities discovered in the progress of Public Works, such as railways, sewers, foundations of buildings, etc.

4. By encouraging individuals or associations in making researches and excavations, and affording them suggestions and cooperation.

5. By opposing and preventing, as far as may be practicable, all injuries with which Ancient National Monuments of every description may from time to time be threatened.

6. By using every endeavour to spread abroad a correct taste for Archaeology, and a just appreciation of Monuments of Ancient Art, so as ultimately to secure a general interest in their preservation.

7. By collecting accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions of Ancient National Monuments, and by means of Correspondents preserving authentic memorials of all antiquities which may from time to time be brought to light.

8. By establishing a *Journal* devoted exclusively to the objects of the Association, as a means of spreading antiquarian information and maintaining a constant communication with all persons interested in such pursuits.

9. By holding Annual Congresses in different parts of the country, to examine into their special antiquities, to promote an interest in them, and thereby conduce to their preservation.

Thirteen public Meetings are held, on the 2nd and 4th Wednesdays in the month during the season, at eight o'clock in the evening, for the reading and discussion of papers, and for the inspection of all objects of antiquity forwarded to the Council. To these Meetings Members have the privilege of introducing their friends.

Persons desirous of becoming Members, or of promoting in any way the objects of the Association, are requested to apply either personally or by letter to the Secretaries; or to the Treasurer, GORDON M. HILLS, Esq., 37, Thistle Grove, Brompton, to whom Subscriptions, by Post Office Order or otherwise, should be transmitted.

The payment of ONE GUINEA annually is required of the Associates, or TEN GUINEAS as a Life Subscription, by which the Subscribers are entitled to a copy of the quarterly *Journal* as published, and permitted to receive the parts of the *Collectanea Archæologica* at a reduced price.

---

THE CONGRESSES HITHERTO HELD, HAVE BEEN IN

1844 CANTERBURY, under the Presidency of	}	LORD ALB. D. CONYNGHAM, K.C.H., F.R.S., F.S.A. (afterwards LORD LON- DESBOROUGH).
1845 WINCHESTER     "     "		
1846 GLOUCESTER     "     "		
1847 WARWICK     "     "		
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1851 DERBY     "     "     "	}	SIR OSWALD MOSLEY, BT., D.C.L.
1852 NEWARK     "     "     "		
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	}	SIR C. H. ROUSE BOUGH- TON, BART.
	}	EARL BATHURST.
	}	LORD LYTTON.

The principal points in relation to the History and Antiquities of these several places will be found in the volumes of the *Journal*. The *Journals* already published are at the following prices, and may be had of the Treasurer and other officers of the Association.

		To the Public.		To the Members.		
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XXI.	1865	...	...			
XXII.	1866	...	...			
XXIII.	1867	...	...			
XXIV.	1868	...	...			
XXV.	1869	...	...			

The special volumes of TRANSACTIONS of the CONGRESSES held at WINCHESTER and at GLOUCESTER are charged to the public £1 : 11 : 6 ; to the Members, £1 : 1 : 0.

In addition to the *Journal*, published regularly every quarter, and profusely illustrated, it has been found necessary, from the number of communications received, and constantly accumulating, to publish occasionally another work, entitled *Collectanea Archaeologica*. It embraces papers whose length is too great for a periodical journal, and such as require more extensive illustration than can be given in an octavo form. It is therefore put forth in quarto, uniform with the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries. Sold to the public at 15s. each part, but may be had by the Associates at 10s.

## RULES OF THE ASSOCIATION.<sup>1</sup>

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THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION shall consist of patrons, associates, correspondents, and honorary foreign members.

1. The patrons,<sup>2</sup>—a class confined to the peers of the United Kingdom, and nobility.
2. The associates,—such as shall be approved of, and elected by, the council; and who, upon the payment of one guinea as an entrance fee,<sup>3</sup> and a sum of not less than one guinea annually, or ten guineas as a life subscription, shall become entitled to receive a copy of the quarterly *Journal* published by the Association, to attend all meetings, vote in the election of officers and committee, and admit one visitor to each of the public meetings.
3. The correspondents,—a class embracing all interested in the investigation and preservation of antiquities; to be qualified only for election on the recommendation of the president or patron, or of two members of the council, or of four associates.
4. The honorary foreign members shall be confined to illustrious and learned foreigners, who may have distinguished themselves in antiquarian pursuits.

### ADMINISTRATION.

To conduct the affairs of the Association, there shall be annually elected a President, ten<sup>4</sup> Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, two Secretaries, and a Secretary for foreign correspondence; who, with seventeen other associates, shall constitute the Council. The past Presidents shall be *ex officio* Vice-Presidents for life, with the same *status* and privileges as the elected Vice-Presidents, and take precedence in the order of service.

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<sup>1</sup> The rules, as settled in March 1846, are here reprinted by order of the Council. The variations made since that date are introduced and indicated by notes.

<sup>2</sup> Patrons were omitted in 1850 from the list of members, and have since been nominated locally for the Congresses only.

<sup>3</sup> The entrance-fee will not be demanded until five hundred associates are enrolled.

<sup>4</sup> Till 1848 six Vice-Presidents, then the number enlarged to eight, and in 1864 to the present number. In 1863 past Presidents made permanent Vice-Presidents.



## ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

1. The election of officers and council shall be on the second Wednesday<sup>1</sup> in May in each year, and be conducted by ballot which shall continue open during one hour. Every associate balloting shall deliver his name to the President, or presiding officer, and afterwards put his list, filled up, into the balloting box. The presiding officer shall nominate two scrutators, who, with one or more of the Secretaries, shall examine the lists, and report thereon to the General Meeting.

## OF THE PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENTS.

1. The President shall take the chair at all meetings of the Society. He shall regulate the discussions, and enforce the laws of the Society.
2. In the absence of the President, the chair shall be taken by one of the Vice-Presidents, or some officer or member of the Council.
3. The President shall, in addition to his own vote, have a casting vote when the suffrages are equal.

## OF THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall hold the finances of the Society, discharge all debts previously presented to, and approved of by, the Council; and, having had his accounts audited by two members elected at the annual general meeting, shall lay them before the annual meeting.

## OF THE SECRETARIES.

1. The Secretaries shall attend all meetings of the Association, transmit notices to the members, and read the letters and papers communicated to the Association.
2. The Secretary for foreign correspondence shall conduct all business or correspondence connected with the foreign societies, or members residing abroad.

## OF THE COUNCIL.

1. The Council shall superintend and regulate the proceedings of the Association, and elect the members, whose names are to be read over at the public meetings.
2. The Council shall meet on the days<sup>2</sup> on which the ordinary meetings of the Association are held, or as often as the business of the Association shall require; and five shall be deemed a sufficient number to transact business.

<sup>1</sup> In the earlier years the elections were in March. After 1852, till 1862, the Annual General Meetings were held in April. Subsequently they have been held in May.

<sup>2</sup> In the earlier years the Council meetings and ordinary meetings were not held in connexion.

3. An extraordinary meeting of the Council may be held at any time by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by five of its members, stating the purpose thereof, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices of such meeting to every member.
4. The Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in any of the offices, or among its own members.
5. The Chairman, or his representative, of local committees established in different parts of the country, and in connexion with the Association, shall, upon election by the Council, be entitled to attend the meetings of the Council and the public meetings.
6. The Council shall submit a report of its proceedings to the annual meeting.

#### PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1. The Association shall meet on the fourth Wednesday in November, the second Wednesday in December, the second and fourth Wednesdays in the months from January to May, and the second Wednesday in June, at 8 o'clock in the evening precisely,<sup>1</sup> for the purpose of inspecting and conversing upon the various objects of antiquity transmitted to the Association, and such other business as the Council may appoint.
2. An extraordinary general meeting of the Association may at any time be convened by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by twenty members, stating the object of the proposed meeting, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices accordingly.
3. A general public meeting, or congress, shall be held annually in such town or place in the United Kingdom as shall be considered most advisable by the Council; to which associates, correspondents, and others, shall be admitted by ticket, upon the payment of one guinea, which shall entitle the bearer, and also a lady, to be present at all meetings, either for the reading of papers, the exhibition of antiquities, the holding of *conversazioni*, or the making of excursions to examine any objects of antiquarian interest.

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<sup>1</sup> At first the meetings were more numerous, as many as eighteen meetings being held in the year; and the rule, as it originally stood, appointed twenty-four meetings. Up to 1867, the evening meetings were held at half-past eight.

7  
OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR THE SESSION 1869-70.

President.

THE LORD LYTTON.

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(Those marked with an Asterisk are *Ex-Officio* Vice-Presidents.)

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- \*THE EARL OF CARNARVON.
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## British Archaeological Association.

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1870.

---

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*The letter L denotes Life Members.*

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### INAUGURAL ADDRESS

DELIVERED ON MONDAY, AUG. 2, 1869, AT THE CONGRESS  
HELD AT ST. ALBAN'S,

BY THE RIGHT HON. LORD LYTTON, PRESIDENT.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—Allow me first, in your name, to welcome to the county of Hertford, and to this ancient town of St. Alban's, the distinguished members of the British Archaeological Association who honour us with their visit. That Association was commenced in 1843 by the zeal and energy of a few earnest students of our national history as elucidated by our national monuments. Among the foremost of those students was our guest, Mr. Thomas Wright, whose delightful works have done so much to render us familiar with the manners and customs of our ancestors. It is stated by one of my predecessors in this chair, that at the time the Association was formed, the taste for antiquarian research was very partial, and somewhat languid; that there were no local museums in which objects of national antiquity could be collected, and even the British Museum had no special place for their reception; that, with some illustrious exceptions, archæology was rather the amusement of amateurs than the study of practical thinkers and profound scholars; and that it is mainly owing to the labours of this Association that local museums may now be found in most of our principal towns, and that archæology has been raised from a graceful accomplishment to the dignity of a philosophical science. I should not have ventured to accept the

distinguished office I hold to-day, if I had found that it had been generally occupied on similar occasions by professed archæologists. But it seems that when the Archæological Association selects any particular county for its annual Congress, its more eminent members consent to forego their own claims to the chair of President, in favour of some inhabitant of the district they visit, who does not pretend to rival the learning of those he represents; but who reveres the studies which they adorn, and is familiar with the localities whose monuments attract their research. These, indeed, are my sole claims to the distinction conferred upon me by the British Archæological Association. As a writer I should be ungrateful, indeed, if I did not acknowledge how much I am indebted to the archæologist whenever I have endeavoured to trace upon my canvas some image of the past; while as a Hertfordshire man, I am proud to think that our county is worthy of the visitation, from which its history and its monuments will derive fresh illustrations and additional interest. Camden, indeed, has said in his *Britannia*, that "for the renown of antiquity, Hertfordshire may vie with any of its neighbours, for scarce any other county can show so many remains." Archæology has been called the handmaid of history; and, indeed, without its aid history would as little represent the particular time it endeavours to recall, as the drawing of a skeleton would represent the features and the form by which the individual human being was recognised while in life. It is to the skeleton of a former age that archæology restores the flesh and the sinews and the lineaments that distinguish it from the countless centuries of which it is a link, clothes it in the very garments that it wore, and rebuilds the very home in which it dwelt.

But archæology is not only the handmaid of history, it is also the conservator of art. It disinters from neglected tombs the inventions of departed genius, and bids them serve as studies and sources of inspiration to the genius of a later day. When the Baths of Titus were excavated at Rome, the attention of Raphael was directed by a fellow artist to their faded arabesques. Those arabesques roused his own creative imagination, and under his pencil reappeared on the walls of the Vatican in new and original combinations of form and colour. Nay, that discovery and the train of ideas it aroused, may be said to have suggested the delicate tracery

and elaborate ornament of that new school of architecture called the *Renaissance*, out of which grew the palaces of Fontainebleau and Heidelberg, and which we have nationalised in England in those noble manorial residences which adorn the reigns of Elizabeth and James.

But it is not only history and the plastic arts which are indebted to the science of the archæologist. It is amongst his labours to guard from oblivion the myths, the traditions, the legends of former days; and critical and severe though his genius and its obligations must be, still it is to his care that we owe the preservation of many a pure and sacred well-spring of poetry and romance,—well-springs from which Spencer and Milton, Dryden, Gray, Wordsworth, and Scott, have drawn each his own special stream of inspiration, to refresh the banks that he cultivated, and nourish the flowers that he reared. Last, and not least, of our obligations to the spirit of archæology, is that it stimulates and deepens in the heart of a people sentiments of pride and affection for the native land. In proportion as we cherish the memories of our ancestors, and revere the heirlooms they have left us, in monuments reared by their piety, or bearing witness of their lives and their deeds, the soil which they trod becomes hallowed ground; and we feel that patriotism is no idle name, but the mainspring of every policy which makes statesmen wise, and the borders of a state secure. Indeed, if we look back to the annals of the world we find that there is no surer sign of the impending downfall of any nation than a cynical contempt for the memorials of its old renown. When Gibbon gives us the mournful picture of Roman corruption and decrepitude, just before the final extinction of the Western Empire and the accession of a barbarian king to the throne of the Cæsars, he tells us “that the monuments of consular or imperial greatness were no longer revered as the glory of the capital; they were only esteemed as an inexhaustible mine of materials cheaper and more convenient than the distant quarry.” And with this miserable desecration of objects that attested the majesty of Rome, the very name of the Roman passed away; and, to borrow the expression of a French writer, “the descendants of Brutus became the vassals of the Goth.”

But, ladies and gentlemen, if the national spirit and the love of country be thus generally nourished by that search-

ing but reverential study of the past which is called archæology, there is an inherent principle in the human mind which makes the affections more intense by limiting their range. A man, for instance, may take but a lukewarm interest in the antiquities of the whole British empire, compared to that which he may readily be induced to take in the antiquities of the county to which he belongs. "Things distant," says an old writer, "affect us feebly; things which are brought under our eyes rouse our emotions, and appeal to our hearts"; and so, when a man of some intelligence and susceptibility of feeling finds that localities with which he is familiar are the sites in which great events took place, or in which great men had their residence or their birthplace, then the whole scene takes a new interest, a new charm; an importance and dignity are given to the places through which he passes daily, perhaps to the very fields which surround his home; he conceives a pride in that portion of the land in which Providence has cast his lot,—and insensibly, for all such operations of the mind are insensible,—that pride extends its range from his immediate district to the nation and the race of which he is a member. For this reason I think that the British Archæological Association has done most wisely in holding an annual Congress at successive divisions of our common country. They thus sow in one place those seeds of patriotism and of art which are wafted to other places more remote, till that same culture of ideas which had commenced in a county town gradually embraces the surface of the kingdom; and in visiting our county, and selecting St. Alban's for their central meeting-place, the Association will find memorials and reminiscences that illustrate the history of our native island from its earliest date to its halting point in our own day; from the ancient Briton whose ancestor, if Welsh tradition be true, crossed what is called in Welsh language "the hazy sea", from the land of the Crimea, to the beloved and lamented statesman who had a home at Brocket, and under whose auspices was closed that last British war undertaken for the cause of European civilisation, which has left the tombs of heroes on those Crimean shores from which came the exiles that have given to Scotland, Wales, and England, their common name of Britain. I need not say to you who listen to me in the Town Hall of St. Alban's, that round the spot on which we assemble one

of the bravest and fiercest of the British tribes held dominion. Far and near, round this spot, we tread on ground which witnessed their dauntless if despairing resistance to the Roman invader. But here let me pause to make this reflection.

The difference between one race and another appears to be according to the mental organisation by which any given race can receive ideas from a more civilised race by which it is subdued, or with which it is brought into contact. If it cannot receive and incorporate such ideas, it withers and fades away, just as the Red Indian withers and fades away beside the superior civilisation of the American settlers. But England never seems, from the earliest historical records, to have been inhabited by any race which did not accept ideas of improved civilisation from its visitors or conquerors. The ancient Britons were not ignorant barbarians, in our modern sense of the word barbarian, at the time of the Roman conquest. Their skill in agriculture was considerable; they had in familiar use implements and machinery, such as carriages, the watermill, the windmill, which attest their application of science to the arts of husbandry. They had formed towns and cities in which was carried on a trade so flourishing that Gaul is said to have derived from Britain the supplies with which it resisted Rome. But there were some ideas they received from the Romans utterly unknown to them before, and which are incorporated in the civilisation we now boast and enjoy. They received the idea of facility of transit and communication. The Romans were to the ancient world what the railway companies are to the modern. They were the great constructors of roads and highways: the word "street" is a vestige of the Roman; it is derived from *stratum*, a paved causeway. The Britons owed next, to Roman ideas, the introduction of civil law; and the moment the principle of secular justice between man and man was familiarised to their minds, the priestly domination of the Druids, with all its sanguinary superstitions, passed away. The Britons owed next, to Rome, that institution of municipal towns to which the philosophical statesman, Mons. Guizot, traces the rise of modern freedom in its emancipation from feudal oppression and feudal serfdom. At the time the Romans finally withdrew from Britain no less than ninety-two considerable towns had arisen, of

which thirty-three cities possessed superior privileges; each of them possessing a municipal government distributed amongst annual magistrates, a select senate, and a popular assembly; possessing the management of a common revenue, and exercising civil and criminal jurisdiction. Amongst the most famous of these cities, I need not tell you, was the ancient Verulam, which was a *municipium* in the time of Nero, and of which the remains are now being brought more clearly to light by the labours of the Association under the skilful guidance of Mr. Edward Roberts. I understand that the plan of the city has now been distinctly traced, and I am told by Mr. Roberts that it bears a close resemblance to that of Pompeii. Two houses have been already disinterred; and on Wednesday you will be enabled to see at least the stage, proscenium, and orchestra of the ancient theatre,—the only Roman theatre, I believe, yet found in this country; and the whole of which will shortly, by Lord Verulam's liberal permission, be laid open to inspection, and form one of the most valuable acquisitions to the treasure-house of British antiquities. Lastly, it was to the Roman conqueror that the Britons owed, if not the first partial conception, at least the national recognition of that Christian faith whose earliest English martyr has bequeathed his name to St. Alban's.

When we pass to the age of the Anglo-Saxons, their vestiges in this county surround us on every side. The names of places, familiar to us as household words, mark their residences: the terminals *-by*, *-bury*, *-ley*, *-wick*, *-worth*, *-ham*, are indicative of Saxon homes, and there is no county in which they more abound than Hertfordshire. And here I may be permitted to observe that the main reason why the language of the Anglo-Saxon survived the Norman invasion, and rapidly supplanted the language of the conqueror, does not appear to me to have been clearly stated by our historians. I take the reason to be simply this: the language that men speak in after life is formed in the nursery, it is learned from the lips of the mother. Now those adventurers of Scandinavian origin who established themselves in Normandy did not seek their wives in Scandinavia, but in France; and thus their children learned in the nursery the French language. In like manner, when they conquered England, those who were still unmarried sought their wives

among the Saxons; in the second generation such intermarriages were almost universal; and thus the language of the mothers naturally became that of the children, and being also the language of the servants employed in the household, the French language necessarily waned, receded, and at last became merged in the domestic element of the Anglo-Saxon, retaining only such of its native liveliness and adaptability to metrical rhyme and cadence as served to enrich the earliest utterances of our English poetry in the Muse, at once grave and sportive, at once courtly and popular, who inspired the lips of Chaucer.

I need not say to my listeners that throughout the Heptarchy, till the consolidation of the several kingdoms under one imperial ruler, the town and neighbourhood of St. Alban's are part and parcel of Anglo-Saxon history; and if I do not dwell on the memorable events connected with this locality during that early epoch, it is because we are promised some essays on that subject by our distinguished and learned visitors. In this county, too, are the scenes of fierce and heroic conflicts between the Saxons and the Danes. Where now stands the town of Ware anchored the light vessels which constituted the Danish navy, as it sailed from London along the Thames to the entrance of the river Lea. There they besieged the town of Hertford, which had been a place of some worth even in the time of the Britons; and there the remarkable military genius of Alfred the Great, at once acute and patient, studying the nature of the river, diverted its stream into three currents, and stranded the vessels of the invader, which were seized as spoil by the Londoners. The site of the fort erected by the Danes, and of the two forts built by King Alfred, has, I understand, been ascertained by a resident of Hertford, who has promised a paper on the subject. Further on, in the little town of Welwyn, the historian of our county tells us that, "according to common fame, the massacre of the Danes began"; probably at Danesbury, a name which I believe signified a fortified Danish camp. Nor are we, in this county, more destitute of memorials of the turbulent ages which followed the Norman conquest. When Prince Louis of France invaded England, no stronghold, with the exception of Dover, resisted his siege with more valour, or with greater loss to the invader, than the Castle of Hertford. Under the soil around



those old walls which now enclose the peaceful residence of our legal friend, Mr. Longmore, as if to show that in the progress of civilisation the rage of war is transferred from the battle-field to the courts of law,—under that soil many an invading Frenchman found his homeless grave. That castle at Hertford was, in the Wars of the Roses, possessed by Margaret of Anjou; and here, in St. Peter's-street, at St. Alban's, on the 22nd of May, 1455, her ill-fated husband, Henry VI, pitched his standard against the armies of the White Rose, led by Richard Duke of York, and the great Earls of Warwick and Salisbury. And here again, on the 17th of February, 1461, he was brought from London by Warwick, and made the nominal and reluctant representative of a conflict against his queen, who, however, delivered him from the custody of the Yorkists, and sullied her victory by such plunder and cruelty as a few days afterwards ensured the crown to Edward IV. On the summit of the church tower at Hadley is still seen the lantern which, according to tradition, lighted the forces of Edward IV through the dense fog which the superstition of the time believed to have been raised by the incantations of Friar Bungay, a famous wizard. Through the veil of that fog was fought the battle of Barnet,—a battle among the most important of English history, whether for its immediate consequences or its ultimate results. On that field of Barnet the power of the great feudal barons expired with Warwick, the king-maker, and a new era in the records of liberty and civil progress practically commenced; for I am convinced, by a somewhat careful study of that time, that the contest between the houses of York and Lancaster was not, as many historians have treated it, a mere dispute of title to the throne, or a mere rivalry for power between the great feudal chiefs. There was also a great political and moral principle at stake in the conflict. The house of Lancaster, with its monkish king, represented the elder and more intolerant spirit of papal persecutions. It was under that house that the first religious reformers had been mercilessly condemned to the gibbet and the flames; and in the martyrdom of the Lollards, Henry IV and Henry V left a terrible legacy of wrath and doom to Henry VI. Besides the numerous descendants of the Lollards, large bodies of the Church itself, including the clergy, accepted notions of religious reform; and these

necessarily were alienated from the house of Lancaster, and inclined to the house of York. With the house of York, too, were the great centres of energy and intelligence,—London and the principal trading cities. The commercial spirit established a certain familiar sympathy with Edward IV, who was himself a merchant, venturing commercial speculations in ships fitted out by himself. Thus the battle of Barnet, which confirmed the house of York on the throne, was in fact fought between the new ideas and the old; and those new ideas which gave power to the middle class in the reign of Henry VII, and rendered the religious reformation in the reign of Henry VIII popular, despite its violent excesses, shared at Barnet the victory of the king under whom was established the first printing press known in England.

But Hertfordshire is not eminent only for the memorable events connected with our national history, nor only dear to the archæologist for the material relics of antiquity: the names of great men consecrate localities, and are often more familiar than the records of a battle, and more lasting than monuments of stone. Our county has furnished either the birthplace or the home of no inconsiderable persons. According to tradition, Cashiobury was the royal seat of Cassivellanus, the commander-in-chief of the British kings who stormed the camp of the Romans in their march upon Verulam; and passing to the noble family that now holds its domains, Cashiobury found an owner as brave as its old British possessor in the first Lord Capel,—faithful in life and in death to the cause of Charles I. Near to the town of Hitchin, in which stood the priory of the White Carmelites, now possessed by our esteemed friend, Mr. Delmè Radcliffe (the author, by the bye, of a charming book entitled *The Noble Science*,—a name that he applies, not to the science of archæology, as he ought, but to the science of the chase, of which he is a distinguished professor), near to that town, in the rural hamlet of Offley, died the magnificent Offa, founder of St. Alban's Abbey. King's Langley was the birthplace of Edmond de Langley, the brave son of Edward III, afterwards created Duke of York. Close beside it, at Abbot's Langley, was born Nicholas Breakspear, afterwards Pope Adrian IV. Moor Park is identified with the names of Cardinal Wolsey and of the ill-fated Duke of Monmouth. At Aldenham lived for a time the father of the great Lord Falkland, who must there have

passed some years of his studious boyhood. Knebworth, before it passed to the family of which I am the representative, belonged to that flower of chivalry, Sir Walter Nanny. Baldock owes its origin to the Knight Templars, who had also a lodge at Temple Dinsley. Gobions belonged to the illustrious Sir Thomas More. Sir John Mandeville, the famous traveller (who, if he invented his travels, beat us all in the art of romance), was a native of St. Alban's. Thomas Stanley, the learned author of the *Lives of the Philosophers*, lived at Cumberlow. Sir Ralph Sadler, that great ornament of his time as a soldier, negotiator, and statesman, lived at Standon, and is buried in its church. Welwyn is immortalised as the home of Edward Young, the author of *Night Thoughts*; and in our generation, of one of the greatest scholars England has ever produced, Mr. Fynes Clinton, the author of *Fasti Hellenici*. Panshanger is associated with the name of Cowper,—a name rendered illustrious not only by the great lawyer and statesman in whom the title originated, but also by the poet who has made himself a name at every hearthstone where the English language is read or spoken. The delightful essayist, Charles Lamb, boasts his descent from Hertfordshire, and his genius has raised from obscurity the little hamlet of Mackery End. Future archæologists will revere at Brocket the residence of two eminent men who in our time have swayed the destinies of this country as first ministers of the Crown,—Lord Melbourne and Lord Palmerston,—men akin to each other by family connection, and akin still more by the English attributes they held in common, an exquisite geniality of temper united with simple and robust manliness of character. Our guests will visit, at Hatfield, a place rich indeed with brilliant memories and associations. There may be seen the tower from the top of which, according to the story, the Princess Elizabeth envied the lot of the humble milkmaid; and there, in the park, may still be seen at least the trunk of the tree under which she is said to have received the news of her accession to the throne. A little beyond the site of the old palace they will inspect the noble halls which were erected by Robert Cecil, and restored to fresh splendour by their late lamented owner; of whom it may truly be said, that his active mind never neglected a duty, and his loyal heart never forsook a friend. And what Englishman—nay, what

stranger from those foreign nations to which, conjointly with the posterity of his native land, Francis Bacon entrusted the verdict to be pronounced on his labours and his name—would not feel that he is on haunted ground when he enters the domain of Gorhambury, and examines the relics of that abode in which the Shakespeare of philosophy united the most various knowledge of mankind with the deepest research into the secrets of nature and the elements of human thought.

Such, ladies and gentlemen, are some among the objects of interest to which the notice of our visitors is invited. I should apologise for much that the limits of my space compel me to omit; for there is scarcely a town, a village, an old manor-house in Hertfordshire which has not some relic, some association, some tradition, which may commend itself to the true archæologist. Nor ought I to forget how diligently the records of our county have been preserved by native historians, whose descendants still bear the honoured names of Clutterbuck and Chauncy. While another resident of Hertfordshire, Joseph Strutt, the celebrated author of *English Antiquities*, has laid in the neighbourhood of Welwyn the scene of our earliest English romance, *Queen Hoel Hall*, which suggested to the more brilliant genius of Walter Scott the immortal tales of *Ivanhoe* and *Kenilworth*.

Ladies and gentlemen, so long as we keep the past before us as a guide, we are not altogether (speaking humanly, and with due submission to the decrees of Providence), we are not altogether without some power to shape the future so as to preserve, through all its changes, that national spirit without which the unity of a race disappears. It has been vouchsafed to England to diffuse her children and her language amidst realms unknown to the ambition of Alexander, and far beyond the boldest flights of the Roman eagle. Ages hence, from the shores of Australasia and America, pilgrims will visit this land as the birth-place of their ancestors, and venerate every relic of our glorious if chequered past, from the day of the Druid to that in which we now are; for while we speak we ourselves are acting history, and becoming in our turn the ancients to posterity. May no future Gibbon trace to the faults of our time the causes which ensure the rise and fall of empires. Century after century may our descendants in those vast new worlds, compared to which

Europe itself shrinks to the dimensions of a province or a shire,—century after century may they find still flourishing on these ancestral shores, nor ashamed to number the men of our generation among its fathers, a race adorned by the graces of literature, and enriched by the stores of science. May they find still unimpaired, and sacred alike from superstition and unbelief, the altars of Christian faith; may our havens and docks still be animated by vessels fitted for commerce abroad, or armed, in case of need, for defence at home. Still may our institutions and our liberties find the eloquence of freemen and patriots in our legislative halls, and the ermine of Justice be unsullied by a spot in the courts where she adjudicates between man and man. These are the noblest legacies we receive from the past; and while we treasure these at every hazard, and through every change, the soul of England will retain vitality to her form, and no archæologist will seek her grave amidst the nations that have passed away.

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## ON POPULAR TUMULTS AT ST. ALBAN'S IN THE REIGN OF RICHARD II.

BY EDWARD LEVIEN, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

ON the afternoon of St. Alban's Day, 22 June, 1377, through streets spanned by triumphal arches, and gaudy with pageants and devices, past conduits flowing with wine, and houses crowded from roof to basement with eager and excited spectators, amid the merry pealing of bells, the strains of minstrels, and the joyous shouts and acclamations of a loyal people, rode the boy-king, Richard of Bordeaux, the son and heir of the glorious Edward the Black Prince, to take possession of his ancestral throne. On the 16th July he was crowned with great pomp and magnificence at Westminster; and on the 31st August, 1399, "deserted at his utmost need by those his bounty erst had fed", the same prince, friendless and fallen, "unkinged by Bolingbroke", was led a prisoner through London, amid the jibes and the jeers of the bystanders; and

"As in a theatre the eyes of men,  
 After a well-graced actor leaves the stage,  
 Are idly bent on him that enters next,  
 Thinking his prattle to be tedious :  
 Even so, or with much more contempt, men's eyes  
 Did scowl on Richard ; no man cried God save him ;  
 No joyful tongue gave him his welcome home ;  
 But dust was thrown upon his sacred head,  
 Which with such gentle sorrow he shook off,—  
 His face still combating with tears and smiles,  
 The badges of his grief and patience,—  
 That had not God, for some strong purpose, steeled  
 The hearts of men, they must perforce have melted,  
 And barbarism itself have pitied him."

The Bishop of Carlisle, the only staunch friend who had the courage to espouse the cause of the deposed sovereign, was seized by order of the Duke of Lancaster, and sent as a prisoner to the Abbey of St. Alban's, while the wretched king was left to drain to the dregs that bitter cup which the malice of his enemies had prepared for him.

The causes which led to these events are too well known to need recapitulation here ; but it may be as well for us to take a short survey of the state of affairs at the commencement of this reign, in order to show how surcharged with all the elements of a forthcoming storm the political atmosphere was, and how not only secular but religious disputes fanned the flame of dissension which was already beginning to burst forth between the different estates of the realm ; how those conflicts arose which led to consequences so important both then and thereafter, and tended, after a season of violence and turmoil, to establish on a firmer footing those dearly bought liberties which we are now enjoying, by defining more clearly the duties and the privileges of each member of the body politic, and teaching both the governors and the governed those lessons which nations no less than individuals can only learn by slow but salutary experience ; and by enduring and overcoming those painful and dangerous maladies which are incidental to infancy and youth, before they can hope to attain to the more perfect strength of a maturer age ; for as it has been justly observed by a writer in a well-known weekly periodical (*Saturday Review*, 31 July, 1869), "In England the history of the town and of the country are one. The privilege of the burgher has speedily widened into the liberty of the people at large ; the municipal charter has widened into the great charter of



realm. All the little struggles over toll and tax, all the little claims of 'custom' and franchise, have told on the general advance of freedom and law. The wardmotes of the Norman reigns tided free discussion and self-government over from the Witenagemot of the old England to the Parliament of the new. The hustings' court, with its resolute assertion of justice by trial by one's peers, gave us the whole fabric of our judicial legislation."

It was the misfortune of Richard, upon his accession to the throne, to find himself involved in an expensive war with France; and with an exhausted treasury it was impossible to withstand the ravages of the hostile forces by sea or land, and to provide means for the maintenance of garrisons in the enemy's territory. Besides, the king himself, by his own gross personal extravagance, by no means tended to alleviate the burdens of his subjects, or to conciliate their good will; and when, on the 5th Nov. 1379, a committee which had been formed to inquire into the expenses of the royal household and the government offices, reported that £160,000 beyond the supplies already granted were required to liquidate the debts of the nation, the demand was pronounced "outrageous and insupportable". The Commons, however, resolved that the money should be raised, and that capitation tax was imposed which formed one of the most prominent of those grievances that gave rise to the torrent of popular wrath which was destined to submerge the unhappy Richard and his adherents. Moreover, the *villeins* remained pretty nearly in the same fetters of vassalage as those by which they were bound at the period of the Norman conquest; and they were encouraged in their ardent desire to free themselves from the yoke not only by a sense of their own degradation, and of the oppression under which they laboured, but by the teaching of John Wyclif, or rather by the inflammatory harangues of his followers. Dr. Lingard says: "To this resistance they (the villeins) were encouraged by the diffusion of the doctrines so recently taught by Wyclif, that the right of property was founded in grace, and that no man who was by sin a traitor to God, could be entitled to the services of others. At the same time itinerant preachers sedulously inculcated the natural equality of mankind, and the tyranny of artificial distinctions; and the poorer classes, still smarting under the exactions of the late

reign, were, by the impositions of the new tax, wound up to a pitch of madness. Thus the materials had been prepared: it required but a spark to set the whole country in a blaze." But the editor of the *Fasciculi* appears, I think, to gauge the sentiments and doctrines of the eminent reformer more correctly than does the learned Doctor when he says,<sup>1</sup> "it must never be forgotten, in estimating Wyclif by his disciples, that under the common name of Lollards was gathered every species of religious malcontent. Restless fanatics like Swynderby, with whom Wyclifism was but one of a series of religious excitements; Crompe, whose only crime was a bitter hostility to the mendicant orders, which the times gave an excuse for treating as a heresy; socialist preachers like John Balle, adventurers like Peter Payne, were all united in popular, or at least in clerical estimation with the genuine disciple of John Wyclif"; and Dr. Reinhold Pauli observes, with regard to any similarity of sentiment between Wyclif and the turbulent preachers of his day, that "far from there being any ground for assuming such an idea, it would be more easy to prove that his own sermons, and those of his immediate followers, were directly opposed to the tendencies of the popular orators. In fact, Wiclif desired to maintain the system of the state precisely as it then was; and he regarded the Church as the most dangerous opponent, in consequence of the vast secular power to which the ecclesiastical institution had attained; while those who favoured the insurrection were desirous of doing away with lords and masters of every kind, whether ecclesiastical or secular." And again: "The high clerical and monastic inquisitorial judges, who most assuredly never lost sight of Wiclif, neither then or at any other time ventured to accuse him of having been the companion of Wat Tyler, although, in accordance with his usual practice, he seized the occasion to make known his own views, which were embodied in a tract on *Masters and Servants*";<sup>2</sup> a question on which I venture to think much wholesome advice is needed even in our own days.

Thus, then, as we have remarked, both in Church and State all the elements of a political and religious revolution

<sup>1</sup> See *Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif cum Tritico*, edited by the Rev. Walter Waddington Shirley, M.A., published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. London, 1858, p. lxvii.

<sup>2</sup> See *Pictures of Old England*, by Dr. Reinhold Pauli; translated, with the author's sanction, by E. C. Otté. 8vo, London, 1861, pp. 280, 281.

were at hand; and "disestablishment," "disendowment," "communism," "socialism," the irrepressible "working man," and questions similar to those with which we have become so familiar in our own days, although they were not then advocated in the same language, or urged by the same arguments, as they now are, were forced upon the minds of all orders of society, and led to those outbursts of popular fury, some of which we are now about to consider.

In these more refined and enlightened days, when all our shops are "*emporiums*," our shirts "*eureka*s," our shaving soap "*ryppophagon*," and our chimney-sweeps "*ramoneurs*"; when our linendrapers' apprentices are "gentlemen," and our tradesmen "esquires"; when our servant-girls have their letters addressed to them as "Miss" Jemima, or Susan, or whatever else their names may be; when our confectioners and publicans advertise for "young ladies" to serve behind the counter or the bar, the oft repeated distich,

"When Adam delved, and Eve span,  
Where was then the gentleman?"

might suggest a question which would probably be unpalatable to many of the rising generation; but it would scarcely produce effects equal to those which it exercised when it was first uttered by John Ball in the year of grace 1381. These memorable words, and similar utterances by preachers and teachers of sentiments akin to those of Ball, occasioned that general rising under Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, and others, whose names are given in two not very euphonious hexameters of a poem printed by our learned associate, Mr. Thomas Wright, as

"Jack Chep, Tronche, Jon Wrau, Thom Myllere, Tyler, Jack Straw,  
Erle of the Plo, Rab to, Deer, et Hob Carter, Rakstrawe."<sup>1</sup>

The incidents of Wat Tyler's rebellion, as it is termed, are too well known for me to dilate upon here. I shall therefore confine myself to the narration of such events as are more especially connected with the town of St. Alban's, as set forth by various chroniclers whose works are extant upon the subject, such as the *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani*,

<sup>1</sup> See "Political Poems and Songs relating to English History, composed during the period from the Accession of Edward III to that of Richard III;" edited by Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., etc. 8vo, London, 1859. In the series published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. Vol. i, p. 230.

Capgrave's *Chronicle of England*, the *Recueil des Croniques et Anchievnes Istoures de la Grant Bretaine*, a present nommé *Engleterre*, by Jehan de Waurin; Froissart's *Chronicles*, the *Eulogium Historiarum*, the *Chronica et Annales* of John de Trokelowe and Henry de Blanforde, the *Political Songs and Poems* edited by our learned associate, Mr. Thomas Wright; Thomas Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana*, and various modern works.

From these writers we are easily enabled to form an idea of what a popular riot was in the days of which I am treating; and if the Bealeses and Finlens of the period had not as yet utilised Hyde Park and Trafalgar Square, yet Smithfield and Mile End were equally available for the purposes of "King Mob"; and although iron railings were not then in vogue, yet other weapons were not wanting; and when the torch of rebellion was once lighted, the flame spread itself rapidly over the metropolis and the adjacent counties of Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and Hertfordshire.

For many years previously to the period of which we are now treating, the populace of St. Alban's had been in a chronic state, as it were, of ferment, and constant *émeutes* had been and were taking place between the religious and secular inhabitants. In fact, it was "in the betting", so to speak, that at any time a "town and gown row" might come off; and as many a match of the monastery against the borough had already been played out, there was no reason why such contests should not occur again. Hence, in addition to their other causes for discontent, the populace of St. Alban's had, as they imagined, a long score of particularly pet grievances against the monastery, which they no doubt thought the present was a very good opportunity of wiping off. Accordingly, in the year before Wat Tyler's rebellion, we find that "there was," as Capgrave informs us, "betwixt the bischop of Norwich, [Henry Spenser], and Thomas de la Mar, abbot of St. Albonne, a ple, in which ple the abbot opteyned that there schuld no priour longing to Seynt Albonne, in the dyosise of Norwich, be compelled to gadere the dymes to the king"; so that the "king's taxes," as we perceive even in those days, were occasionally felt to be somewhat of a grievance even in the best regulated families, and led to such fights between grave ecclesiastics as proved them to be indeed members of "the Church militant here upon earth," and showed that the

"*animis cœlestibus iræ*", which, as we learn from Virgil, originated at the time of that pretty little quarrel about the Apple of Discord and the unadorned beauty of the three goddesses, raged even in the fourteenth century, and as we learn from the pugnacious names of Colenso, Gray, Cumming, and Denison, are not extinct even in our day.

To return, however, to St. Alban's. In the next year (1381), again using Capgrave as our authority, we learn that "in the month of May the Comones rysen again the King and the Lordes. At St. Albones mad thei gret destructione in housing [of houses], brenninge [burning] dedis and charitoris; all clausures of wodis [all wooden enclosures] thei destroyed; bokis and rolles of cortis and obligatiounes thei rent and brent"; so that if it had not been for these riots, our learned palæographer, Mr. Black, would have found even more grist to his mill than that which he has already so often ground for our amusement and instruction.

Another writer<sup>1</sup> gives a succinct account of the events of this period in the following words: "In the 4th of Richard II the rebellion of Wat Tyler occasioned great disorders here. Some of the inhabitants of London and other places joined them at this town, and put the abbot (Thomas de la Mar) and the convent into great fear. They demanded the charters concerning their liberties, and to be freed from their accustomed services. The malefactors were brought from Hertford Gaol hither, and tried by the Chief Justice of the King's Bench (Robert Tresilian, whose predecessor, John de Cavendish, had been beheaded by the rebels in Kent). John Ball, a priest of Coventry, was the first condemned; and after him, fifteen more, some of this town. They were hanged and drawn; but their bodies being noisome, were removed at some distance; which the king, by writ directed to the bailiffs of the borough, forced them to bring back and put again on the gallows." This was, no doubt, a very satisfactory proceeding of Richard's, as he did not reside in the town; but for those who did, "the odour of sanctity" exhaling from the "priest of Coventry" and his companions by means of the *sus. per coll.* process, could not have been

<sup>1</sup> See Chauncey and Salmon's *History and Antiquities of Hertfordshire*, illustrated with a great variety of prints and drawings, and some manuscript notes and papers, by Thomas Baskerfield, Esq., jun., F.S.A., in 3 vols., folio. Add. MSS., British Museum, 9062-9064, vol. iii, p. 74.

very delightful; and ocular demonstration of the high places which their late opponents occupied would doubtless have satisfied the loyal part of the community better than the strong testimony to the fact of their execution which was continually borne to them through the medium of their olfactory nerves. The king "further summoned all the commons of this county, from fifteen years to sixty, to appear in the great court of the Abbey, and take an oath of fidelity to him; and swear to oppose all rebels, to secure them, and to commit them to prison."

Walsingham gives a very minute account of the events of this year, and tells us how that the men of St. Alban's went up to London in compliance with a request from the insurgents there; on account not only of the ordinary causes of popular discontent, but having superadded to them the constant quarrels in which they were involved by the captious disposition of the above-named Thomas de la Mar, the thirtieth abbot, of whom Mr. Riley, in his introduction to the third volume of the *Gesta Abbatum*, remarks that "no adversary was of too exalted a condition, or of a status too humble, for Abbot Thomas to lose the opportunity, if fairly offered, of testing with him his legal rights; from kings, princes, and archbishops, down to serfs and bondmen; from earls, countesses, and ladies of high degree, down to little prioresses and retail dealers in London. Of few of the men of those days might it better be said that, with the Ishmaelite of old (a somewhat hackneyed quotation, perhaps, but none the less appropriate), "his hand was against every man, and every man's hand against him." This being the case, it is scarcely to be wondered at that the people of St. Alban's were willing to ally themselves with the malcontents of London and the neighbouring counties; accordingly, headed by one William Gryndcobbe, "*qui plura debebat monasterio*", as the historian tells us,—and therefore, like most gentlemen in difficulties, no doubt owed, among other matters, an extra grudge to his creditors,—they went to consult Wat Tyler, who promised them his assistance, and kindly undertook to assassinate the abbot and all the inmates of the monastery. The prior, however, and several of the order, having been apprised of the amiable designs of the insurgents, thought that, upon this occasion at least, discretion was the better part of valour, and quietly, as the modern phrase goes, "ske-

daddled", leaving the abbot and those of the community who shared his bellicose propensities, to fight the battle by themselves. Whereupon Gryndcobbe and his friends, upon their return to St. Alban's, summoned all the inhabitants, under pain of death, to meet them at Fawnton Wood. Here they committed great outrages, destroying all the trees, shrubs, crops, and sheepfolds; and seizing a rabbit, they marched into the town, and fastened the unfortunate creature upon the pillory; not as being worthy of that distinguished post, for any offence it had committed, as may easily be supposed, but merely in token that the right of taking all they could get belonged to them, and them only. They then went to the monastery, where they caused the prison to be opened, and all the prisoners to be released. Nor does the matter end here; for malcontents and insurgents from Barnet now come to join them, and matters assume a most serious aspect. At this juncture arrives Richard de Wallingford with the following letter from the king to the abbot:

"Very dear in God,—At the petition of our beloved lieges of the town of St. Alban's, we do will and command that certain charters, being in your keeping, made by our progenitor King Henry, unto the burgesses and good folks of the said town, of common, and of pasture, and of piscary, and of certain other advantages expressed in the same charters, as they say, you do cause to be delivered unto the said burgesses and good folks, the which law and right require; that so they may have no ground for making plaint from henceforth unto us for such reason. Given under our signet at London, 15th day of June in the fourth year of our reign."

Notwithstanding this royal mandate, the warlike abbot will not give in. Preparations are made for an attack upon the Abbey; but the insurgents, who possibly may have sometimes been hungry themselves, before proceeding to extremities, considerably resolved to allow the monks time to get their dinners ("*indultum est spatium prandio monachorum*," as Walsingham has it). So also in modern times, to compare small things with great, the prison authorities allow those unfortunate folks who are cast for execution to "order what they like," as the phrase goes; and accordingly, as we learn from those intellectual prints and journals which rejoice in recording such interesting facts, they not unfrequently solace their last hours by partaking of a hearty breakfast of beefsteaks and hot coffee. The monks' meal, however, of St. Alban's could not have done them much

good; for, as we are informed by the veracious historian so often quoted, that "*non proficeret manducantibus, quoniam a facie mæroris et angoris, tristitiæ et pavoris, cibebantur pane lacrymarum, et panem utique doloris manducabant: et potus eorum fletibus miscebatur,*"—they ate the bread of affliction, and their drink was mingled with tears.

The upshot of the matter was, that after the destruction of the great gate, and a raid into the town, the abbot was not only obliged to yield, but, as if to add insult to injury, the insurgents demanded bread and ale, which the wretched abbot and the monks were obliged to give them, and that without stint,—"*mittebatur eis cervisia abundanter, cum panibus in magnis cuvis, ad portam; ut quilibet biberet et tolleret quod volebat,*"—beer was sent out to them in abundance, and loaves in large tubs, at the gate, for any of them to drink and to help himself to as much as he liked. After enjoying this unlimited "liquor up," and bread, as our French neighbours phrase it, *à discretion*, by the persuasion of one of the townspeople they retired from the Abbey, but continued their violence in the town, till at length the abbot, finding further resistance useless, grants them a general acquittance for everything except debt, and a bond securing to them all the liberties they asked for; at the sealing of which bond a remarkable circumstance is said to have occurred. We are informed that the wax, which had been prepared for the occasion by some most skilful experts, was duly placed upon the seal, on which was engraved "*Vetustissimo opere imago gloriosi Protomartyris Britannorum Albani, tenens in manu palmam*"; but when it was attempted to remove the wax, the latter stuck so tightly to the seal that after three hearty tugs it was still found utterly impossible to separate the one from the other,—a fact which Walsingham moralises upon as indicating plainly that the martyr was by no means willing that the townsfolk should be his masters; but that he had much rather remain, as he always had been, theirs.

The rebellion, however, was by no means yet stamped out; and it was not until stringent measures were taken that the insurgents returned to their allegiance, and Gryndcobbe and the other popular leaders were seized and imprisoned before anything like quiet was restored. Even then the king thought it best that he should himself proceed to St. Alban's. He

accordingly goes thither, accompanied by a large retinue and his justiciar, Sir Robert Tresilian, and is received with great honour at the monastery. On the morrow the justiciar, who is described by Walsingham as "*peritissimus vir multum habens pectoris et prudentiæ serpentinæ*", i.e., a most skilful man with a large heart and serpentine wisdom (a description, by the way, that reminds one of the epitaph upon a lady, which informs the passer by that "she lived and died a truly pious Christian, and was an excellent performer upon the pianoforte"); goes to the town, and taking his seat "*apud Le Mothalle*" (the Moot Hall), "*accessiri jussit ex Hertfordia Willielmum Gryndcobbe, Willielmum Cadyndone, et Johannem Barbitonsorem*"; the last of whom, as his name is *Anglicè* Barber, would seem at some time or other to have been a species of male Delilah, and to have shaved Samson so as to rival the latter in strength; "for this is the man", says Walsingham, "whom I have already mentioned as having broken into pieces the pavement of the monastery parlor, and carried off, and smashed into minced meat, the mill-stones in the fury of his wrath." The end of this redoubtable hero, who displayed such a vast amount of "muscular Christianity," was that he with twenty-four of the ringleaders of the rebellion were hanged and drawn, and the rest imprisoned. A statute was passed annulling all the charters extorted during the rebellion, and all feoffments and seizins that had been granted by the insurgents were declared null and void.

Even after this there were constant outbursts of ill will between the monks and the townspeople, and incendiary fires broke out on property belonging to the monastery; but these appear to have been rather the acts of individuals than regularly organised popular tumults like those already mentioned. In 1394, as we read in *Blaneford's Chronicle*, "*circa mensem Martii per diversas partes regni Angliæ crebra et damnosa colluxerant incendia videlicet apud Wymundham apud Cleye, et apud Hotham, et prioratum quendam de Sancto Albano vocatum 'Bellum Locum,' quorum damna atas futura difficile restaurabit.*"

Time does not permit me to enter into anything like detail with regard to the matters to which I have so imperfectly referred; but they will be found all fully described in the third volume of the *Chronica Monasterii S. Albani*,

already so often quoted, and lately edited by Henry Thomas Riley, M.A., in the important series now being issued under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. The period it comprises is from A.D. 1349-1411; and the able introduction which the editor has prefixed to it will render it still more valuable and interesting to any who may be investigating the history of the manners, laws, and institutions of the epoch of which it treats.

Before taking leave of my subject I must for one moment advert to the downfall of the unfortunate Richard, and glance at a circumstance which, although it cannot be strictly denominated a "popular tumult," yet was participated in by so many of the people here, and was attended with so much excitement, that I trust I shall not be met with cries of "Question!" "Question!" such as often greet the speaker who diverges from his subject in what is termed, in parliamentary language, "another place," if I slightly notice it.

When Henry of Bolingbroke was rapidly ascending to those heights of power and glory from which the reigning monarch was now being so rudely thrust down, it was at this town that Edmund of Langley, Duke of York, summoned all those to meet him who were still faithful to the royal cause. He soon, however, fled, with all his adherents, to Oxford and Bristol; while the triumphant Henry, who had landed at Ravenspur with only forty companions, entered St. Alban's at the head of about sixty thousand men. Again there was a popular tumult in the town, but it was a tumult of delight and of the worship of the rising sun.

Richard's fate, as we know, was now sealed; and even when his ruin was imminent, he seemed bent upon accelerating it by exasperating all sorts and conditions of men against him; and Blancford, writing of the year 1397, says: "One thing is certain, that from this time the king became a perfect tyrant, grinding down the people (*populum opprimere*)," and "*borrowing*," as the chronicler euphemistically terms it, "vast somes of money; insomuch that no prelate, no community, no citizen, or, in a word, any one throughout the whole realm who was rich could keep that fact concealed so as not to be compelled to *lend*," as it is again politely called, "his substance to the king."

A period of four hundred and seventy years has elapsed since Richard's successor encouraged his followers by the assurance,—

“No more the thirsty entrance of this soil  
Shall daub her lips with her own children's blood ;  
No more shall trenching war channel her fields,  
Nor bruise her flowerets with the armed hoofs  
Of hostile forces : those opposed eyes  
Which, like the meteors of a troubled heaven,  
All of one nature, of one substance bred,  
Did lately meet in the intestine shock  
And furious close of civil butchery,  
Shall now in mutual, well-beseeming ranks  
March all one way, and be no more opposed  
Against acquaintance, kindred, and allies.  
The edge of war, like an ill-sheathed knife,  
No more shall cut his master.”

And amid all the perils by which she has been environed, although the clouds which have gathered round her have often seemed as though they would extinguish her light for ever, through the waves and the whirlwinds of foreign war, civil discord, and national calamity, our beloved country has still weathered the storm ; sometimes sorely beset, but never humiliated. And for us, her sons, whose motto still is, as it ever has been, “*pro aris et focis*,” it now remains to hand down to our posterity intact those glories and those liberties which we have inherited from our forefathers ; and so to read the lessons of the past that we may derive fresh hope, fresh confidence, and fresh wisdom for the future. May we each, in his sphere, labour to keep the bright chaplet of civil and domestic freedom, with which Britannia's brows are crowned, still pure and unsullied ; remembering always that it is only by mutual concessions and mutual forbearance on the part of the various members of the state that true national greatness is attained and preserved ; and that it is only when it is raised in proclaiming the cause of humanity, justice, and truth, that “the voice of the people” is indeed “the voice of God.”















A ROAD

ROAD A

B ROAD

Part of Pavement  
7 inch squares

SECTION THRO' A. A.

SECTION B. C.

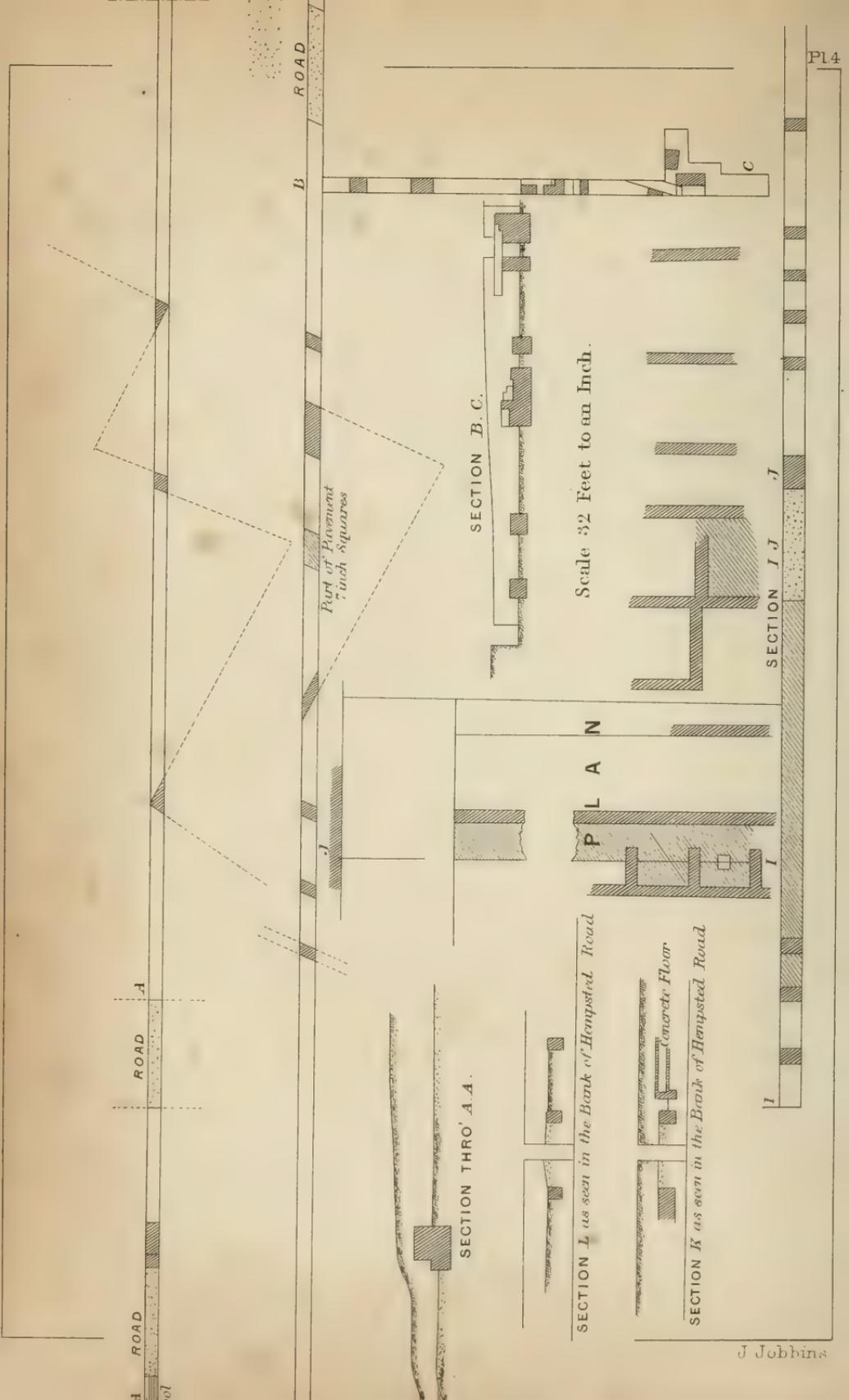
SECTION L as seen in the Bank of Hempsted Road

SECTION K as seen in the Bank of Hempsted Road  
Concrete Floor

Scale 32 Feet to an Inch.

SECTION I J

I



## VERULAM AND POMPEII COMPARED.

BY J. W. GROVER, ESQ.

THE greatest victories of modern times are said to be due to the spade as much as to the sword or the rifle. To that humble instrument the antiquary is no less indebted than the soldier ; and even the historian himself finds that his handmaid archæology, by the assistance of the spade, can bridge over for him the dark places in the world's story, where he has been hitherto groping only by the uncertain light of the lamp of tradition. Honour, then, to the spade and to its many bloodless conquests, one of which I am now about to record.

It is no easy task to rebuild, even in fancy's dream, the streets and homes of the long-buried city. Most difficult is it to believe that the pleasant slopes over which the plough passes unresisted, and where the corn springs and the sickle reaps, should once have formed the busy home of congregated thousands, and echoed with the heavy tread of the Roman cohorts. Yet the spade and the pickaxe tell us, in stubborn argument, that where the green hedgerows now flourish, there ran of yore the streets and alleys of a noble Roman city. Where the lamb sports in the joyous spring-tide, undisturbed by aught save the sheep-dog's bark, in ancient times stood the spacious colonnades of the forum, the anxious precincts of the magisterial *Basilica*, the enervating baths, those *Therma* of pomp and splendour, where the Romanised Briton indulged in soft luxury, such as his descendants have re-produced in these days in Jermyn Street, under Turkish auspices. By yonder gate the frescoed Greek theatre offered its dramatic programme for the dilectation of the denizens of ancient Verulam. Now the voice of the chorus is no more heard ; strophe and antistrophe have long sought the silence of the tomb ; the spot has become consecrated to the genius of swedes and turnips. Those verdant meadows by the river were once covered with an extensive lake, over which the gondolier of the days of Constantine ferried his togated fare, and in which the juvenile Roman amused himself with his fishing rod, after the manner

of his race. All is now gone ; nothing remains of the former splendour. A rude fragment of ivy-covered wall marks precariously the outline of the city. Here and there the antiquary's eye fancies that it traces the position of the streets by the varied tints of the vegetation. Sometimes the plough strikes upon the foundations of a villa, and brings up a handful or two of *tessellæ*—scattered tiles still strew the ground—classic brickbats there are in abundance.

The Saxon and the monk, followed up by the yet sterner requirements of modern agriculture, have made a clean sweep of Verulam. Fifteen hundred years have sufficed to leave not one stone upon another above ground, save the outer walls. Let us pause a moment to endeavour, with retrospective eye, to gaze adown the corridors of time for eighteen centuries, and see Verulam as it was in its infancy, its pride of manhood, and its decay. At first a *congeries* of low wigwams of humble thatched shanties, covering the holes in the ground into which our British forefathers were wont to creep as the Esquimaux do now. The defences of this primitive settlement were probably a strong stockade and a trench, like a New Zealander's paah, around which the trees of the forest being felled, formed a wild *abattis*. Far and wide behold the dense forest, with here and there precarious clearings, where the first humble attempts at agriculture were conducted ; for the wealth of the Britons consisted chiefly of cattle, large droves of which issued forth from the enclosure each morning to seek subsistence in the woods, and to return at night, as in our colonies. Through the deep gloom of the woods British clearings or trackways, hardly to be honoured with the title of roads, ran in crooked lines, generally following the upper land. Skin-clad warriors drove their flocks and chariots along these devious ways, when, at the approach of the Romans, Cassivellaunus summoned the bravest of the Trinobantes to defend their homes. Then another century passes on : the apostles were amongst men on earth—the great light had shone on a benighted world. Claudius, the Emperor of “Reform Bill” celebrity, determined to add Britain to his unwieldy empire. He came, and saw, and conquered ; and lo ! Verulam is changed as by a magician's wand—a new city rises amidst the wigwams, and long straight streets of lordly mansions take the place of hovels. The princely frescoed villa rises where the hut

stood. Then came temples to new gods; the forum, the *basilica*, and the law courts, filled with the *curiæ*; knights, slaves, clients and a long array of imperial officials and tax-gatherers. The burnished helmets of the legionaries sparkle amongst the eagles of Rome; the grim centurion's voice tells of discipline and order and despotism, stern and unbending as of Prussia now. The droves of oxen and sheep for sacrifice approach the temples. Civilisation, with its blessings and curses, amazes the simple islander. A long cycle of magnificent imperialism for four hundred years has to be endured. It is the vestiges of this age which the spade reveals to us. In the fifth century the Roman soldier goes away; the barbarians rush from their mountains in the north, the Irish pirates follow in their wake, ruin and desolation mark their track. The Saxon comes and seals the final doom of civilisation—by wholesale disendowment and disestablishment. Behold Verulam on fire, its roofs fall—all is destroyed save the blackened walls. It must have presented a gloomy and ruinous scene for many hundred years. The superstitious Saxon swineherd feared to tread its desolated streets after nightfall; the wolf alone creeps warily across the moonlit forum. The underground hypocausts formed a safe refuge for the rabbit, the fox, and the wild boar; and we are also told that they served as homes for more dangerous enemies, the banditti who infested the forests; till at last the good Abbot Aldred, of pious memory, ordered them to be all filled up, and carted away the building materials to erect a church. No wonder that a fearful dragon inhabited, as we are told, these gloomy precincts, until he was disestablished by the same good abbot, and doubtless compelled to end his days in the secluded precincts of Pré wood. We read of vast palaces being demolished by Abbot Eadmer, who, alas, having no taste for antiquities, destroyed all the precious little idols which came in his way, and with cruel perversity spared us none of the numerous urns or amphoræ, or even pillar-moulded glass vessels which he is said to have dug up, and for which we should all have felt so grateful if he had only left them intact. But we are told he found sundry engraved gems and cameos, which he with praiseworthy inconsistency preserved to decorate the shrine of his new church. Alas! where are they now?

To return to the stubborn region of fact. I must endea-

your to show what Verulam once was, and to do this must refer to the recent excavations, and to a plan of Pompeii (Plate 3), which the former city so much resembles, that it enables us to fill up many of the details with tolerable accuracy.

Verulam is variously named by the Roman writers. Tacitus, whom we follow, calls it Verulamium; Ptolemy, Urolanium and Verolanium; and Antoninus, Verolanium; it occupied an oblong area about three-quarters of a mile long by half a mile wide. Our excavations have traced the principal streets—running north-west and south-west; one of these formed part of the great military road from London to the north-west, and generally follows the present turnpike road, from Edgware, Elstree, Park Street, then Verulam, and Redbourne, Market Street, Dunstable. These streets were intersected by others running nearly at right angles to them; one seems to have followed the hedge between the Rectory fields and Mr. Aldridge's farm; another was probably, though not certainly, on the site of the present Hemel Hempsted road. Both these streets ran south-west and north-east; the first may be traced in the fields to the west of the city, on which side, Stukely says, a gateway was formerly visible. This road no doubt formed the famous Camlet way; it ran in a straight line from the western gateway to the southern side of St. Michael's churchyard, and thence through Major Gape's garden, across the Fishpool, and straight for Oster hill; part of this road was visible in 1826, when it was destroyed, I believe. Now let us briefly consider the shape of the city. (Plates 1, 2.) It is an oval, the major axis of which is traversed by the Roman Watling-street, the minor axis by the Camlet way; the intersection of these two great streets is close to St. Michael's Church, and in nearly all the Roman cities of Britain this seems to have been the site of the great Temple and the principal buildings. I will venture therefore to propound a theory, which I believe is consistent with analogy,—that St. Michael's Church occupies the site of the Temple, and that temple probably was dedicated to Apollo. In Bath, the city of Apollo of the Sun, we have two St. Michaels, one of which stood near the site of the famous temple. When the world became Christianised the saints received and perpetuated the attributes of the deities they superseded. St. Mary de Stall in Bath succeeded Sul-i

Minerva. St. Sul was worshipped in Brittany in the place of Sol. The *Templum Salutis* in Rome became St. Vitale; the Pantheon, All Saints. Fire and light were the prevailing idea in the temple of Vesta, which is now the Madonna of the Sun. The twin brethren—Romulus and Remus are perpetuated by Cosmo and Damien. Cases might be multiplied indefinitely; as in Bath St. Michael succeeded the worship of Apollo or Baal, so I think he did in Verulam; the saint slew the dragon, as Apollo did the python; the first drove the rebellious angels from heaven, the last destroyed the Cyclopes. Moreover it is curiously confirmatory of this argument to remember that both the St. Michael's mounts in Cornwall and France, were said to have been consecrated by the Druids to the sacred fires of the Sun or Baal—*Beltien*, as they are now called, and which still exist. The Romans especially adopted and engrafted their religion upon that of the nations they subdued. When they came they found this land devoted to the worship of the Sun and Moon, the Baal and Ashtaroth. So they built their temples to the Sun and the Moon, divinities—Baal or Apollo here, Diana at Dunstable,—and so propitiated the Druids. Then came Constantine, and Christianity prevailed. We know that the Christians of the Roman Empire converted the temples into churches; and this fact accounts for the sites of several of our cathedrals in the very centres of the old Roman cities. Sir C. Wren supposed that St. Paul's stood on the foundations of a temple of Diana. Chichester Cathedral stands on Roman remains in the centre of that city. Stone-street points direct upon its spire for miles. The great Roman western road to Gloucester, the Ermine-street, runs in a long straight line for miles upon the tower of that city's cathedral; other cases might be brought forward in support of the argument, but those I have named will suffice. In Pompeii the Theatre occupied very nearly the same relative position as in Verulam; and a temple stood near it dedicated to Hercules, and occupying nearly the same situation as St. Michael's Church does to the theatre here. The principal forum in Pompeii was about 500 feet long, by 110 wide; on the eastern side came the Basilica and temple of Venus; this, no doubt, was the arrangement in Verulam, and would place the forum in Mr. Aldridge's meadow, to the south of the rectory paddock, where Stukely shows a large

building. In Uriconium the same plan is followed. The western gate of Verulam near the Hempstead-road, at the entrance of the Camlet way, would correspond exactly with the Vesuvius gate in Pompeii, and the crater of the volcano, with regard to the shape of the city and its distance, would come at Langley Bury. In the case of the Campanian city the sea represents the fishpool of Verulam, but it extended on another side also, viz., on that here facing St. Stephen's Church. The dimensions are most strikingly similar in both cities. The length of Pompeii is 4,300 feet; of Verulam, 4,488. The width of Pompeii is 2,400 feet; of Verulam, 2,541. The area of the former being 167 acres, and of the latter 190 acres. But the shape is most singular, and this can be best understood by applying the plan of one to the other. It seems as if the municipal authorities of our British town had taken the Campanian city as their model. So in the streets a similar agreement seems to exist both as to position and width. In both cases they seem to run nearly at similar angles along the axes of the ellipses, and range from 24 to 27 ft. in width. Verulam, however, has the advantage of the greatest regularity, being built evidently on one formal plan, as the American new cities are now-a-days. The theatre of Verulam not only occupies the same relative position, but is, singularly enough, nearly the same size as that of its model, being 193 ft. 3 in. diameter, against 195 ft. approximately in Pompeii. Mr. Thos. Wright estimates twenty rows of seats here; in the Italian example there appears to have been twenty-two rows, not including those within the *præcinctio* of the orchestra, which in Verulam appears to be 70 feet against 62 in the other. The distance from the stage to the back is the same in both cases. The stage in the Italian theatre is, however, much wider than in ours; so is the proscenium; the walls of our theatre at the side of the stage are placed at an angle, which is a difference. Both theatres appear to have been richly adorned with frescoes and marbles; at Verulam, slabs of the latter material, thirteen-sixteenths of an inch thick, are found, and appear to resemble the material used for lining the fountain's basin at the famous Roman villa at Bignor, in Sussex. It is worth while remembering that at Pompeii a second and smaller theatre exists close to the large one; perhaps further explorations may show a similar one here;





it should come on the northern side.<sup>1</sup> The presence of this unique and interesting relic throws much light upon the manners and customs of our Romano-British ancestors. That civilisation could have been of no contemptible kind which enabled the inhabitants of this remote province to appreciate the drama of Plautus and Terence, or the cadence of a Greek chorus. Remembering that every Roman town in Britain seems to have possessed an amphitheatre dedicated to the less humane pastimes of the gladiator, in Verulam alone has a refined Greek stage been discovered. The position of the amphitheatre in Verulam has been promised us by an eminent local antiquary, so I will not speculate on its site. It stood, to judge from other cases, outside the walls, and Mr. Harris has pointed to a hollow between the town and St. Stephen's, which deserves attention. I refrain from any observations, however, pending further exploration. The streets of Verulam seem to have been composed of gravel metalling; on the top of this may be seen a quantity of oyster and mussel shells, which are always found in Roman towns; on the top comes a *débris* of burnt wood, the charred remains of the fallen rafters; then fallen walls and the Italian roofing tiles with the rolls. Large quantities of the fresco painting of the apartments may also be seen. The *intonaco*, or thin finishing coat of plaster, is very perfect (see Pl. 5); it is generally of a cream or white tone, with brown, red, and blue stripes, as in Pompeii, and sometimes painted with flowers. In the field where the theatre stands, which is still called the "black ground"—probably from the quantity of burnt wood found there,—I am informed by the tenant, the plough frequently brings up a quantity of tessellæ, showing the pavements are very near the surface.

It would be trespassing beyond the province of this paper to enter into any disquisition respecting the roads in the vicinity, yet I cannot help remarking upon the foss-ways, one of which leads from the western gate towards Gorhambury, and another of which may now be seen in Beech-bottom, which points towards Verulam, and no doubt formed part of the Camlet-way. These curious sunk roadways were one of the peculiar features of Republican Rome,

<sup>1</sup> Since this observation was made, the writer has been informed, on very good authority, that the foundations of this suspected small theatre have been actually struck.

and they have lately been explored by Mr. J. H. Parker, and explained by him and Dr. Fabio Gori, for the British Archæological Society of Rome. It is singular to find similar works in Verulam, and their precise object cannot be explained satisfactorily; yet their presence here proves the connection which subsisted between our ancestors and the rising capital of the world, at a much earlier period than history records. One question has, I think, been determined by our recent explorations, and that is the existence of the wall on the Fishpool side (since opened, see section AA, Pl. 4), the remains of which may be seen on the property adjoining Major Gape's house. The pool itself must have formed an extensive lake, and in Gough's *Camden* mention is made of subterranean arched chambers running under the water; it is also stated that Abbot Ealred found on the banks oaken planks fastened with nails, and pitched over; also ships' tackle, fir oars, rusty anchors, and so forth; showing that the water was deep enough for navigation of some sort; a road passed between it and the wall. (See section AA, Pl. 4).

In conclusion, I would draw attention to the material used for the fresco painting, and trust that some chemist will be induced, at a future period, to make an analysis of its composition, so as to ascertain what medium could have been employed so durable as to withstand not only the action of the fire, but also of the damp of fifteen centuries. I believe the ancients used wax mixed with oil in a warm state. The subject is one of much interest. Finally I venture to hope that the labours of this Association may lead to the full explanation of this most interesting relic of antiquity—Verulam. The fields that cover its ruins still conceal most valuable treasures, and I hope that some day this inquiry will lead others to continue the excavations now commenced. The more any one investigates the subject, the more astounded he will be to find that this country was in as high a state of civilisation seventeen hundred years ago as it was in the time of the Charleses; and certainly, as far as the means of communication was concerned, infinitely better provided. The Romans were a thoroughly practical people, and though they did not stand upon any ceremony in conquering Britain, it will be admitted, I think, that they introduced into it the highest amount of science and happiness compatible with the then existing state of things.

## THE HUNEBEDS, OR CROMLECHS OF HOLLAND.

BY ALFRED SADLER, ESQ.

As a whole there is, perhaps, no period in geology more perplexing than the variously called "*diluvium*," "glacial drift," "erratic block-group," or "sand and boulder formation." It is composed of sand, shingles, clay, and earthy *débris*, enclosing water-worn rock-masses or boulders of all sizes, from a pound to several tons in weight. This wonderful formation covers a vast area in Europe, being limited to the south by the Alps, to the west by the Atlantic Ocean, to the east by the Black Sea, to the north by Scandinavia and Russia. The north-eastern provinces of the kingdom of Holland are included in this group. As granitic and gneiss boulders from the Scotch Highlands are found spread on the plains of Fife and Midlothian, and blocks from the hills of Cumberland scattered over the moors of Yorkshire; so boulders from Lapland and Finland are seen on the flats of Russia and Poland, and granites from the Scandinavian mountains are found reposing on the plains of North-Eastern Holland. In the province of Drenthe, in particular, innumerable boulders of all sizes and dimensions are found, both on the surface, and at various degrees of depth under the soil. Most of these rock-masses are of a coarse kind of granite, such as abounds in the mountains of Sweden and Norway, but more particularly in Sweden; to certain specimens of which these Dutch boulders bear such an unmistakable affinity, that in many instances the Scandinavian mountains may be pointed out, from which these rock-masses have been torn away by the glaciers or other powerful aqueous agencies which deposited them in their present site.

An early, prehistoric race which at one time inhabited the district now called the province of Drenthe, has piled up these huge blocks of stone into gigantic monuments, popularly known in the Netherlands by the name of "hunebeds"; a denomination nearly equivalent to that of giants' tombs or beds, given them in the adjoining provinces of Germany. They are of a kindred nature, yet different in many respects from the logans of Cornwall, the cairns of Scotland, the dol-

men of Brittany, and the other kinds of cromlechs found in so many parts of the globe. All "hunebeds" originally were composed of two parallel rows of large stones covered by two or more cap-stones, forming, as it were, a roof to the rude construction, which is further closed by an upright at each end. The average height of the inner chamber thus formed may be about one yard, the inner breadth from one yard to a yard and a half, whilst the length varies considerably. The stones at the sides are not placed closely together, but have spaces between them sufficiently wide to allow a man to pass through. Possibly, however, those apertures may originally have been filled up with smaller stones. As a rule the stones at the sides and at the ends are more or less flat on the insides. Sometimes the cap-stones are also smoothened on the inside; but more generally they are shapeless masses of rock, longer and broader than the other stones; so that some cap-stones rest on four side-stones. In some "hunebeds" the proportions of these cap-stones are truly gigantic. Thus, for instance, if we estimate the cubic yard of granite or gneiss at a weight of 2,900 pounds, one single cap-stone of the Midlaren cromlech would be found to weigh no less than 52,000 pounds. Attached to some "hunebeds" there is a kind of portico running at right angles to one of the sides, and formed by from two to six stones placed opposite each other. This portico is immediately connected with the "hunebed," but is composed of smaller stones. Other "hunebeds," again, are surrounded by a square or oval of smaller stones; and as all these ancient monuments appear to have been originally covered with earth, this oval or square probably defined the base of the tumulus.<sup>1</sup>

The geographical position of the "hunebeds" varies between the following points. Among the fifty-one specimens which occur in Drenthe, we find twenty-four lying north-west and south-east, fifteen lying east and west, six north-east and south-west, three north-west by west and south-east by east, two north and south, one north-east by east and south-west by west.

Nearly all the "hunebeds" have suffered severely by the attacks of time, or rather of men. Superstition and avarice appear for centuries to have leagued together to destroy

<sup>1</sup> In one instance only the "hunebed" had been erected in a pit, so that the tops of the cap-stones were level with the ground.

these ancient monuments of a bygone race and religion. Many of these piles were, no doubt, overthrown on the introduction of Christianity; and many more have been destroyed in the course of ages, in order to supply material for road-making and church-building. How many have been utterly destroyed, it is of course impossible to ascertain; but even within the memory of the present generation not less than six of them have been done away with. The most perfect "hunebed" at present remaining in Drenthe is situated near the village of Tinaarloo. It is composed of eleven stones, three on each side, one at each end, and three capstones. The length of these primæval piles varies according to the size and number of the stones which compose the sides. In Drenthe the smallest is seen at Eexlo. Like Kit's Coty House, it is composed of three stones with one capstone on the top; but the stones are more shapeless than those of our cromlechs. The largest "hunebed" is that of Borger. It numbers forty-five stones, ten of which are capstones. This mass of rock-fragments is over 80 feet long and 9 feet broad. The side-stones are 3 feet distant from each other. The roof is formed by nine stones; and to the western side there is a portico. When the Dutch poetess, Titia Brongersma, in 1685, caused excavations to be made under this monument, the workmen first reached a layer of small boulders; and under this, some small urns, which, however, were broken. An antiquary, who was present at those excavations, describes the pottery as very rude, and the bones as partly petrified.

Another very large "hunebed," or rather a combination of them, is found near Emmen, which locality contains no less than five of these primitive monuments. One of these is, properly speaking, composed of three distinct masses of stone, but placed together so as to form only one monument. It is long about sixty-five yards, broad about three. The first group of stones is distant about seven yards from the second group; and that, again, two yards from the third. A thick growth of furze, heather, and underwood, however, renders it somewhat difficult to determine the original form of this curious pile with exactitude. The neighbourhood of this village of Emmen abounds in prehistoric remains, particularly barrows; two of which appear, at one time, to have been surrounded by a circle of some fifty colossal stones.



Adjoining these is another remarkable mass of stones. A barrow having been opened some years ago, it was found to contain a square mass of boulders and rock-fragments, piled up to a height of 6 ft., and surrounded by charcoal and wood-ashes. A similar pile, but of a pyramidal shape, 9 ft. high, was found in a barrow in Denmark in 1807. It was also surrounded by remains of wood-ashes, fatty matter, burnt textile fabrics, bones, and potsherds.

To describe and detail the particulars of each of these interesting Drentish monuments would be a tedious and unprofitable undertaking. I shall, therefore, conclude with only a few remarks more.

First, with regard to those who build them. It is much easier to say who did *not* build them, than to point out the tribes or nations who did pile up these gigantic monuments. Even the period of their erection is lost in the mist of time. A vague passage in Tacitus has by some been thought to apply to these mysterious erections. That author, in his work *De Moribus Germaniæ* (cap. xxxv), speaking of the Frisii, says, "there is a rumour that in this country (which comprises the present province of Drenthe), the columns of Hercules still remain, either because Hercules went thither, or because everything which is gigantic is attributed to him." Now it is not impossible that report had transformed these piles of stones into columns erected by the erratic demi-god; for according to Tacitus, nobody (that is to say, no Roman) had actually seen the said Pillars. But after all, assuming this passage to apply to the "hunebeds," the only inference we can draw from it would be that the founders of those monuments must have preceded the Roman civilisation; though, on the other hand, it is not impossible that some of the "hunebeds" date from the first period of the Roman conquests in those parts of the Netherlands.

The name "hunebeds," given to these monuments in Holland, affords no clue to their origin. It is true popular tradition attributes them to Attila's Huns; but that barbarous nation did not make its appearance in Europe till the middle of the fourth century, and we would hardly be inclined to place the erection of the "hunebeds" at so late a period. On the other hand, Jacob Grimm, in his researches about German mythology, states that he has come to the conclusion that "Hune was the name of a great and powerful nation

long before the days of Attila,—a nation which was in continual intercourse with Germany; but the origin, antiquity, and geographical position of which cannot be determined." This statement receives, perhaps, some corroboration from a passage in the *Ecclesiastical History* of the venerable Bede, who, speaking of certain pagan nations in Germany, from which the Angli and Saxons descended, mentions the Frisians and the *Huns*, besides several others whose names also occur in Tacitus. In course of time this nation of Huns appears to have been lost, or absorbed in others; and the word *hun* became a noun, the meaning of which was a "chief" or a "giant." Ohfride, a German metrical writer who flourished in or before the ninth century, describes our Saviour as a *rise* or *gigant*. The same term he applies to Polyphemus, whom elsewhere he calls a "*grosse hun*." Add to this, that *chunna*, in the Salic laws, signifies a large number; *Gothice, hund*; German, hundred; whence the centurion, in the earliest translations of the New Testament, is called *hunno*; which, again, coincides with a passage in Tacitus, who says that *centeni*, "from being a number among the Germans, had become a title of honour"; referring to the number of one hundred picked warriors out of each tribe, who fought in the van. All these, however, are mere philological speculations equally perplexing, amusing, and uncertain; yet not, perhaps, to be altogether despised.

Tradition, as in most cases of gigantic remains, considers the "hunebeds" the works of giants; with whom, as said above, the popular mind of the Germanic races often confounded the Huns. Thus, on a "hunebed" at Oosterwoede certain marks are pointed out as the finger-marks of the giants who piled these stones on top of each other. The immense "hunebed" at Borgor is said to have been deposited there by giants, who bowled with these stones, throwing them at each cast a distance of a mile. Another "hunebed", situated near Sleen, local tradition asserts to have been built by a spirit which still continues to haunt it. This monument, amongst the country people, bears the curious name of "Parsonles Church". Some ancient authorities describe all the "hunebeds" as the favourite haunt of a kind of witches known as the "White Women", and for many centuries few of the peasantry were bold enough to approach these mysterious piles in the dark hour of night.

I heard of few other legends or superstitions connected with these hoary fragments of old time. Schoonhovius, an ancient writer on Drentish antiquities, relates (but on what authority I know not) that the inhabitants of Drenthe anciently sacrificed men on the "hunebeds". For these human sacrifices they selected, particularly, strangers, whom they first caused to creep through the spaces between the upright stones, whilst the assembled multitude threw dung at them. So late as the sixteenth century the country people are said to have been in the habit of subjecting to this last named ignominious treatment any luckless native of the southern provinces who happened to fall into their hands. Ancient writers tell us that these open spaces between the stones bore the singular denomination of "*Dæmonis Cunnus*,"—a name no doubt given to them by the early Christian priests in order to impress the newly converted flock with a horror of that universal pagan charm of creeping through apertures of stones; a remaining vestige of which still exists, I believe, at the present day in some parts of this country, in the charm of creeping through the stem of a cloven ash-tree. On the whole the "hunebeds" were in evil repute with the Church. St. Boniface, when first he preached Christianity to the inhabitants of those countries, ordered the "hunebeds" to be thrown down, as his proselytes continued to perform their superstitious rites around them long after they had been converted to Christianity. Hence several bishops, synods, councils, and capitularies, enjoin the destruction of these ancient monuments, and laws to that effect occur in France as early as the fourth and as late as the end of the ninth century. To these influences is to be attributed the fact that nearly all "hunebeds," in Drenthe at least, are overthrown; the "hunebed" at Tinarloo being, indeed, the only one which is still perfect.

I must now crave your kind attention a few moments longer, in order to briefly notice the objects which have been found underneath these primitive monuments. That the "hunebeds" were intended for sepulchral monuments seems beyond a doubt, and is confirmed by the nature of the objects found underneath. In most instances these consisted of burned human bones and ashes, besides the usual implements met with in Celtic or Germanic tombs, such as flint and other stone and bone implements, and some coarse pottery.

The pottery mostly consisted of small urns of clay baked in the fire; generally smaller than those found in the barrows, but of a better workmanship. Usually they are of a brown or ash colour, occasionally adorned with straight or waving lines. They are cast in a mould, not formed by hand, and have no trace of glaze upon them, but in some instances appear to have been polished. Little attention has been paid by those who found these vessels to their exact position in or under the "hunebed". In many instances of "hunebeds" in Westphalia and other parts of Germany only one urn was found, placed under the central cap-stone; but in Drenthe more than one was generally discovered in each "hunebed." Their contents invariably consisted of earth, ashes, and fragments of bone. Some of the vessels were empty, and appear to have had another destination than the urns, as will be seen from their form: one, for instance, approaches the shape of a flower-pot, and another had a hollow handle.

Objects of stone are of frequent occurrence in the "hunebeds." Of most of these the use and form are well known, as they belong to a class of arms and utensils which occur in almost every part of the globe. The majority of the stone axes and hammers found in Drenthe are made of grey granite or basalt; but a great many also are of jade, corresponding with the jade found in the mountains of Switzerland and Savoy. All these implements are of superior workmanship, and equal the best manufactured by the South Sea Islanders. More numerous still than the stone hammers and axes are the celts, some of which are made of flint, others of German agate, but the generality of claystone porphyry, and other basaltic rock specimens. Some of these implements are rough, except at the sharp edge, others are entirely polished. One curious piece of whetstone has also been found, and one bone arrowhead, but not the slightest fragment of either bronze or iron, nor indeed any kind of metal.

Other objects in stone have been discovered in the "hunebeds," the use of which has not yet been satisfactorily determined. Such are certain disks, of either stone or baked clay, five or six inches in diameter, and about two inches thick. They have a round aperture in the centre and are marked with one or more crosses. Different opinions are entertained with regard to the use of these objects. Some

antiquarians have considered them as sinkers for fishing nets and lines, others as disks for throwing. It may be worth while to quote here an extract from a German archæological journal (*Königlich Schleswig-Holstein Lauenburgischen Gesellschaft für Älterthümer*, Kiel 1844, p. 3, note 3), where an ancient game, still played on the Isle of Gothland, is thus described: "On this distant isle, among many other customs and games, there is one still practised under the name of *kastæ varpæ* (casting or throwing the throwing stone). It is played by throwing between two spots, appointed for that purpose, a stone flat on both sides, and as nearly circular as can be found. The person who throws it nearest the mark counts one, and the party who first gets twelve wins the game. The size of the stones and the distance is regulated according to the age and strength of the players. The dimensions of the stones vary from three to five inches diameter, and from one to two inches in thickness, the distance from sixteen to twenty-four paces." This notice is inscribed in the said antiquarian periodical in order to explain the use of a stone preserved in the museum at Kiel, similar to those found in the Dutch "hunebeds." Unfortunately it does not appear from this passage whether the disks used in the Gothlandic game are made of baked clay, nor whether they are pierced with a hole in the centre. Stones would certainly be stronger and better adapted for projectiles than disks of baked clay, with a hole in the centre, moreover, which would render them all the more liable to break.

Having now brought my remarks upon this subject to a close, I take leave to add that at some future period I shall, in all probability, beg to offer some brief remarks upon other very curious prehistoric antiquities which occur in the same district.



Fig. 1.

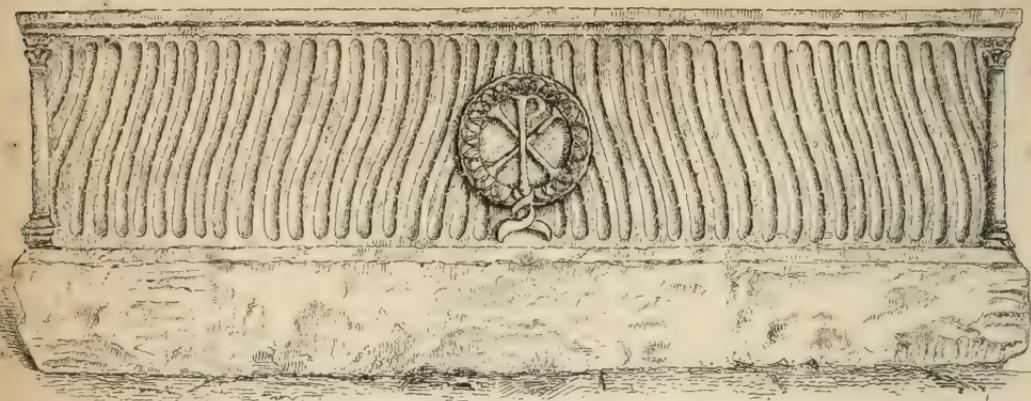


Fig. 2.

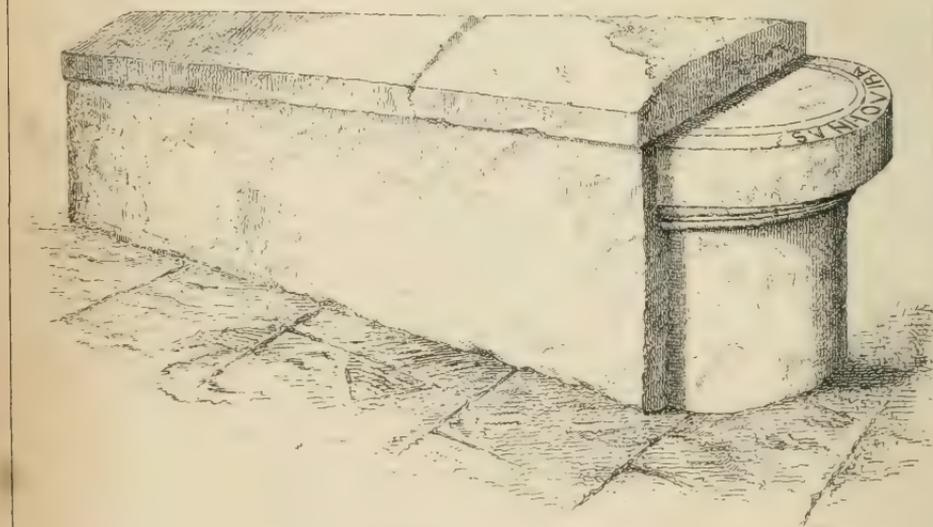
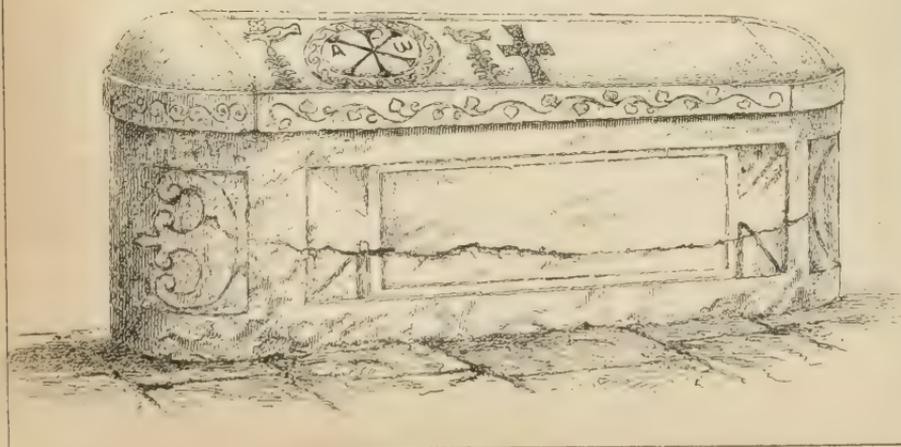


Fig. 3.



ON ROMAN SARCOPHAGI,  
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE TOMB RECENTLY  
FOUND AT WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

BY HENRY F. HOLT, ESQ.

CENTURIES before the Monastery of the West, or Westminster, dedicated to St. Peter the Prince of Apostles, was founded by St. Mellitus, one of the companions of Saint Augustin, and Bishop of London (A.D. 597), the Romans had been accustomed to worship that Apollo whose heathen temple, built on the Abbey site, was destined to disappear before the light and power of dawning Christianity (A.D. 331). Happily, however, fragments of their grandeur, intelligence, and artistic knowledge are occasionally disclosed to us, invested with an interest which seems to command our attention and deserve our respect. Very lately, as most of us are doubtless aware, chance has revealed a sarcophagus of stone, which, from the significant emblem adorning its cover, presents a peculiar claim to the attention of archæologists, and promises to elicit a fund of information which can hardly fail to prove both beneficial and instructive.

Leaving to the leaders in archæological science the elucidation of the more abstruse and difficult theories which the discovery in question bids fair to develop, I purpose addressing myself on the present occasion to the more humble task of submitting to you a few observations on the "sarcophagi" of the Romans, having special relation to that at Westminster. (See *post*, "Proceedings of the Association" of 12th January.)

As may readily be imagined, interments in the remote ages of antiquity must have been humble and poor. As time, however, progressed, that sentiment of respect for the dead, which almost invariably forms one of the distinguishing characteristics of humanity, led to the question of tombs and monuments, whose pristine simplicity as mementos of love or grief, keeping pace with the progress of man's intelligence, resulted in the production of sarcophagi of stone, marble, or porphyry, upon which the sculptor's art was frequently lavished in developing those highly artistic and

talented creations which must always command the admiration of every lover of art and archæology.

The earliest mention of the word "sarcophagus" (or "consumer of flesh") I have hitherto been able to find, occurs in the fourth century, and appears in an inscription on a Roman tomb, bearing date 345. "*In hoc sarcofago conditus &c.*" (De Rossi, *Inscr. Christ. Rom.* 1, p. 520, n. 1130.) These sarcophagi were occasionally so constructed as to be divided into two, three, and even four compartments, in which cases they were each described as *bisomus*, *trisomus*, and *quadrisomus*. Bosio (*Roma Sotterr.*, p. 75) expressly mentions a sarcophagus of the latter class, which enclosed the bodies of the Popes Leo the first, second, third, and fourth.

These Roman sarcophagi were also, as a general rule, divided into three principal classes, the first comprising those the four sides of which, or at least the front and two return sides, were carved in relief. The second class included such as were either wholly or in part decorated with those curved lines commonly described as "strigiles," on account of their resemblance with the instrument of that name, which the Romans used in their baths, and to scrape the perspiration from their bodies after their gymnastic exercises. The drawing on Pl. 6, fig. 1, representing an early Christian Roman tomb in the church of Pujols, in the department of the Gironde, in France, will convey to us an idea of the strigil tombs to which I have alluded, and proves its Christian origin by the sacred monogram in the centre, surrounded by a garland. The third class was one very commonly adopted, as being less costly, viz., tombs which exhibited the front panel only, the rest being sunk into arched niches or spaces specially prepared for their reception, the arched roof being sufficiently raised to freely show the lid of the sarcophagus, and its decoration, and it is to this class the Westminster tomb belongs.

The Romans were also accustomed to bury their dead in a place expressly set apart for that purpose, and consecrated to the "*Dis Manibus*," and often styled the "*Elysi Campi*." Instances, indeed, are on record where the early Christians appropriated the Roman cemeteries in their entirety to Christian sepulture, and among such traditions may be quoted the legend connected with Saint Trophimus, the first Bishop of Arles, who being desirous to consecrate the pagan

neeropolis for Christian burial, assembled several of his episcopal brethren, and proceeded in grand procession to the Roman cemetery. At the moment, however, when the ceremony should have commenced, each bishop (under the influence of some inexplicable sensation of fear) excused himself from taking the initiative, on the ground of humility, and the alleged desire that the honour of consecration should devolve on his brother. They were all, however, effectually relieved from their difficulty, and any doubts they might have theretofore entertained as to the propriety of their intended appropriation of pagan relics for Christian purposes were entirely removed, by the sudden and welcome presence of the Saviour in the midst of them, who then, *in propria personâ*, on his bended knees, consecrated the pagan ground to the uses of His Church. The legend further declares that on the very spot where the Lord left the impression made by His knees, Saint Trophimus reverently erected a stone altar and a chapel, known to this day as "La Chapelle de la Genouillade," and from that moment the cemetery and its tombs were devoted to their new distinction.

This miracle having become disseminated through the length and breadth of the land, the old pagan ground consequently became in great demand, more especially as among the peculiar advantages of reposing there was included the valuable privilege of being insured *à perpétuité* against any attack from the evil one, a protection in itself so desirable as to cause princes, great lords, and even bishops, to secure a resting-place in the "Campo Santo" of Arles. This advantage was, however, happily not limited to the upper ten thousand, the common people being also admitted to the privileged ground, subject to the payment of the dues claimed by the church in the shape of burial fees. That provision duly made, the only requisite for those who resided near the Rhone was to place the deceased in a coffin, with *les droits de mortelage*, launch it on the waters of the river on a slight raft, and be comforted with the assurance that the lifeless clay would be floated in safety to Arles, where, the fees having been extracted, the body would be properly interred.

According to the legend, it was a custom among the fishermen of the Rhone, on passing one of these rafts, to make the sign of the cross, believing it to be under the



especial charge of its attendant guardian angels, whose business it was to watch over the raft, and, by using their wings as sails, secure it against the dangers of either sand-banks or shallows, and thereby ensure its safe arrival at its destination. It is recorded that on one occasion some young fishermen ventured on the rash experiment of stopping one of these rafts near Roquemare, on its way to Arles, and, still worse, dared to open the coffin, and abstract the fees, which done, they pushed the raft from them, and rowed vigorously *up* the stream. Try, however, as they would, they found it impossible to get clear of the raft, which followed them so closely as to render escape impracticable, and being struck with fear, if not remorse, at the consequences of their petty larceny, they restored the stolen property, whereupon the raft at once glided swiftly down the Rhone, and of course stopped at Arles.

With the express sanction of this legend, founded on such unquestionable authority, the use of pagan tombs for Christian purposes was considered as being directly sanctioned, and, as may be readily imagined, the spoliation and adaptation of them became of common and ordinary occurrence, wherever the Romans had established themselves in Europe.

Numerous incidents exist which conclusively prove the early Christians to have been in the frequent habit of utilising the remains of Roman monuments, and of converting them into tombs. To such an extent, indeed, was this system of appropriation carried, that any Roman relic capable of being rendered applicable to the desired purpose, was pressed into the service. Frequent as well as very singular instances of this practice may be found in Normandy; among which one may be especially mentioned at Bayeux, where a Christian coffin was constructed by hollowing out a military column, or milestone; at Vieux a Corinthian frieze was used for a similar purpose; and at Valoques may be seen the base of a column reversed, which was used for the *titulus* or epitaph on a sarcophagus found in the neighbourhood at Lieusaint. The tomb is of a calcareous stone, the lid being formed in two pieces; and upon the upper margin of the demi-cylinder of the column is the inscription, SVNNOVIRA, as appears in the sketch I now lay before you. (Pl. 6, fig. 2.)

Another fact established by archæological research is, that the Roman sarcophagi, whether in France or Italy, possess

so many analogies with each other, as to justify the idea that they were all executed by the same workmen; but such being impossible, it is believed that the Church, in its care to avoid doubt and uncertainty, or to free itself from man's caprice, decided, at a very early date, on the principal forms and types according to which funereal urns, monuments, and sarcophagi were to be executed; giving to each profession and trade its peculiar and distinctive mark, such as a shield for a soldier, an anchor for a sailor, the fasces for a licitor, a bushel for an ædile, and cupping glasses for a physician, etc., which types were then disseminated in the various Roman colonies. There can, however, be no doubt that among the followers in each settlement, the sculptor, or *marmorarius*, was certainly not omitted, whose adoption of one or other of the several approved monumental forms will account for the similitude to which I have alluded. Under that impression I venture to express a belief that the Westminster tomb is one of the sarcophagi especially appropriated for soldiers; and I have arrived at this conclusion on grounds altogether independent of the inscription on the tomb, which declares its original occupant to have held the rank of *superventor* in the Roman army.

Apart from the emblem of Christianity which adorns the cover of the Westminster tomb, and to which I will presently allude, its principal characteristics seem to be,—1st, that it is ornamented with a shield on either side of the panel on which the inscription appears; 2nd, that it is rounded at its extremities; and 3rd, that its lid is slightly convex.

The particular shield thereon represented is known in Roman history as a *pelta*, and was generally of elliptic form, truncated at its highest point, and indented with two semi-circular slopes or cuts, from which it was occasionally styled "*lunata*" (Virg., *Æn.* i, 490). Then *peltæ* were very commonly used in the adornment of Roman sarcophagi, and always on those of military men. Of this practice I now present to you two examples: the first occurs on a very fine and interesting Etruscan tomb of great antiquity, upon which a combat is represented, wherein both adversaries use a *pelta*. (Montfaucon's *Supplement to Antiquity*, vol. v, chap. iii, p. 360, Plate 124, No. 1.) The second sketch is taken from a drawing of the tomb of one "Candidus Candidianus Carautus," erected by his mother's order at Metz, wherein

two *peltæ* also appear. (Montfaucon, book iv, p. 539, Plate 116, No. 11.)

After having given the most careful attention to the subject, and considered it in all the aspects in which it has presented itself to my mind, I venture to declare the conclusions at which I have arrived, viz., that the Westminster sarcophagus is a work of the fifth century, that its inmate was a Christian Roman officer, and that the cross pattée which ornaments its lid was executed at the time; and I will now, although with great diffidence, submit for your consideration the reasons which have induced me to adopt this belief. In weighing the worth of such reasons I venture to ask you to bear in mind three points, viz.: 1st, that in 323 Constantine the Great granted full liberty to all his subjects to embrace the Christian religion; 2nd, that in 331 he ordered all heathen temples in his dominions to be destroyed; and lastly, that the Romans quitted Britain in 426, never to return.

With these dates in our recollection I may observe that the use of Christian tombs ornamented with sculptures undoubtedly existed from the fourth century, and came into common use in Italy, Gaul, and Britain, in the fifth century. We know from the father of French history, St. Gregory of Tours (*De Glor. Confess.* p. 922), that in his time there existed in the Basilica of St. Véraud, near St. Allire, Roman sarcophagi of white marble, upon which were sculptured, in relief, several miracles of our Saviour and his apostles. It also mentions a carved tomb ("*sepulchrum sculptum meritis gloriosum*") of a Christian named Galla, as shown by a fragment of the inscription then remaining upon it, "*sanctæ memoriæ Gallæ.*" The sarcophagi of the fifth century which still remain to us are fortunately by no means uncommon in the South, and fine specimens of them may be found in the majority of the public museums of Arles, Aix, Marseilles, Lyons, and Bordeaux, as well as in the collection at the Louvre. I am, however, enabled to bring under your consideration (Pl. 6, fig. 3) a Roman sarcophagus which combines in a remarkable degree all the characteristics of the Westminster tomb, viz., the Christian emblems on the convex lid, the rounded extremities, the two *peltæ*, and the tablet for an inscription; which tomb has been declared by some of the most learned archæologists in France to belong to the first Christian

period, and therefore contemporary with that at Westminster. This conclusion seems to be borne out by other sarcophagi of the same time, the extremities of which are rounded in like manner; and among which may be especially noticed that of St. Léomen, in the cathedral of St. Maurice, at Vienne in Provence,—that old Roman city so often described as the “cradle of Christianity in the West,”—as also the remains of the tomb in the church of Santlieu.

The tomb to which I am now especially adverting is one in the museum of the ancient city of Autun in Burgundy (the *Augustodunum* of the Romans), consisting of a marble sarcophagus taken from the cemetery of St. Pierre l'Éstrier, a village near the abbey of St. Symphorien, who is considered as one of the earliest Christian sculptors, and suffered martyrdom at Autun for refusing to join in a procession in honour of Cybele. The exterior of this sarcophagus is ornamented on one side with a tablet in the form of a parallelogram, intended for an inscription, having a triangular termination at either end; and at the head and foot of this tablet, in a square compartment, is a *pelta*.

The carving on the lid represents an ornamented circular border, within which is the sacred monogram with the Alpha and Omega. On either side the circle is a branch of palm, surmounted by a dove, and to the right an elaborately ornamented but small cross pattern. This slight sketch of the tomb at Autun will convey to you a far better notion of it than any words of mine have been able to express, and enable you to decide how far the comparison between it and the Westminster sarcophagus is well founded. Relying upon the soundness of the opinion of the French archæologists, that the tomb in question is of the first Christian period, the only points upon which I now deem it necessary to dwell are in reference to the occupant of the sarcophagus having been a Christian, and to the sacred symbols which adorn the lids as well of the Westminster as the Autun sarcophagi, with the double purpose of attempting to justify my opinion that the cross pattern on the Westminster tomb is of the fifth century, and to ascertain, as far as possible, the class of persons by whom such emblems were executed. Upon the first point I submit that Christianity having undoubtedly been established in Britain in the fourth century, the carved cross on the lid is *prima facie* proof that

the religious faith of the person enclosed therein was Christian. Collateral evidence of that being so may also be found in the particular wording of the inscription commencing "Memoriæ &c," a mode of expression opposed to the usages of paganism; but that feature which I confess completely satisfies my mind on the subject, is the total absence from the tomb of the usual pagan invocation to "the Manes," those dread deities who were believed to preside over the graves, burial-places, and monuments of the dead, and to confer the privilege upon every departed soul of leaving their tombs and revisiting the earth, at certain times, and under well-defined restrictions. Taking, therefore, the fact that the deceased inhabited a country where the new faith was not only tolerated but encouraged, that his tomb bears no outward indication of paganism, and that the lid of the sarcophagus is decorated with the cross, I feel justified in declaring my firm belief that the man died a Christian, and had Christian sepulture.

Upon the second point I am content to rely on the recorded opinions of the archæologists in France and Italy, to which I have already referred, and who had arrived at the deliberate conclusion that the emblems in question were the work of early Christians, and they rest their belief that such *was* the case on the fact that the sacred emblems of the fifth century display in general such an intelligence, or rather such a sentiment of Christian worship, such a lucid acquaintance with the meaning of the new faith, and the spiritual worship is so energetically evidenced, although occasionally at the expense of good drawing, as to show such works could not possibly have emanated from pagan hands. Notwithstanding, however, they conceded that the artists in question might have been idolaters prior to their embracing Christianity, and in that category they rank the martyrs Claudius, Nicostratus, Symphorianus, Castorius, Simplicius, Severianus, Carpophorus, and Victorinus, all of whom, being sculptors, suffered death rather than continue to exercise their art upon pagan subjects.

## Proceedings of the Association.

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12TH JANUARY, 1870.

H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE election of the following member was announced,—Gardner, Esq., 453, West Strand.

Thanks were returned for the following presents :

- To the Society.* Société Polymathique du Morbihan, for Bulletin. Deuxième Semestre. Année 1867. 8vo. Vannes, 1868.
- ” ” Canadian Institute, for Journal, vol. xii, No. IV. 8vo. Toronto. Nov. 1869.
- To the Author,* E. G. Squier, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., for Observations on the Chalchihuitil of Mexico and Central Asia. 8vo. New York, 1869.
- ” ” Rev. Assheton Pownall, M.A., F.S.A., for Essay on the Royal Bust on Early Groats, communicated to the Numismatic Society of London. 8vo. London, 1869.

Mr. Alfred Sadler exhibited a brass alms-dish, most probably of Nuremberg manufacture, having in the centre a female figure of Peace. In the right hand is an olive-branch, in the left a scroll with an illegible inscription, and round the rim the words *wart der in frid geh*, signifying “[peace] awaits him who walks in peace.” Mr. Sadler said that the dish had been purchased by him in Belgium, and that there was one bearing a similar inscription in the South Kensington Museum.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills exhibited a salt-cellar of the time of George II, forwarded to him by Andreas E. Cockayne, Esq., and having painted on it a coat of arms charged with an escutcheon of pretence, bearing the arms of Cockayne. The Chairman said that the salt-cellar was of Canton manufacture, numerous articles of the kind having been made there about the period indicated expressly for the English market.

The Rev. Oswald Master, of Croxton, Lancashire, exhibited three Egyptian bronze lamps, seven Egyptian pottery lamps, a bronze bar of Roman workmanship, and a silver pocket sun dial of English make. The latter belonged to a Countess of Coventry, an ancestress of Mr. Master’s family.



Mr. S. Cuming described the Egyptian lamps as belonging to several eras, some of the pottery being before the Ptolemaic period; the bronze lamps he thought of the age of the Ptolemies, and two of the pottery lamps of the Roman period he described as remarkable for the Christian symbols upon them. One of them has the favourite symbol of two birds, so common with the early Christians, the other bears the figure of a toad, an obscure symbol of the Virgin Mary. The bronze bar Mr. Cuming thought to be the handle of a Roman cooking pot. It is rounded and plain underneath, but flat on the top, with a chevron ornament cast in it.

Mr. O. L. Hills asked the opinion of the meeting on a large brass medal, a brass ring, and a small brass figure, reputed to have been dug up in some railway works on the north side of London. The articles are spurious antiquities from the well known manufactory in Rosemary Lane. Their exhibition led to the announcement of the fact that one of the two partners in this manufactory died in the preceding week.

The Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson exhibited a Bull of Pope Benedict XIII, upon which he made the following remarks:—

“The document now printed is written on a sheet of vellum, twenty-one inches in breadth, by about sixteen inches in length. The lower part of the sheet is folded, and to this portion is attached, by a silken cord of two colours, red and yellow, the original leaden bulla or seal. This bulla bears on the obverse the name of the Pope by whom the document was issued, BENEDICTVS PAPA XIII; and on the reverse a cross, between the heads of the Apostles SS. Peter and Paul, whose names are indicated only by the two letters S. P. The body of the document occupies thirty-three lines, which are written in a large but exceedingly difficult hand. Benedict XIII [Vincenzo Maria Orsini] occupied the Papal throne from 1724 to 1730, and this bull is dated in 1727, the fourth year of his pontificate. It contains a grant of a privilege to a religious guild at Lyons. It has been thought worth while to print the document here, as it finds no place in the *Bullarium Magnum*; and besides, being in private hands, it is less accessible than if it were deposited in a public collection. It is given *in extenso*, because the contractions are numerous and somewhat intricate, and in a document of so late a date, no useful purpose could be served by reproducing the mere lines and points of arbitrary contraction. It appears that just at this period the handwriting issuing from the Papal chancery was curiously intricate, even more obscure than the contracted court hand of the seventeenth century in England. I am much indebted to Mr. W. H. Black, F.S.A., for his kindness in collating my transcript with the original.

“BENEDICTUS episcopus servus servorum Dei universis Christi fidelibus presentes literas inspecturis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Considerantes nostræ mortalitatis fragilitatem et humani generis conditionem, districtique severitatem iudicii, percipimus fideles singulos iudicium ipsum bonis operibus et piis precibus prevenire ut per illa eorum peccata delcantur ipsique eternæ felicitatis gaudia facilius consequi mereantur. Cum itaque sicut accepimus in Parochiali seu alia Ecclesia Sancti Simphoniani Penitentium le Chateaux nuncupata Lugdunensis diocesis una pia et devota utriusque sexus Christi fidelium confraternitas Bonæ Mortis nuncupata sub invocatione Domini nostri Jesu Christi et Sancti Josephi ac Dei Omnipotentis laudem et honorem animarumque salutem proximique subventionem non tamen pro hominibus unius specialis artis canonice erecta seu per ordinarium loci dicti canonice erigenda exeat cujus confraternitatis dilecti filii confratres quam plurima pietatis, charitatis, et misericordiæ opera exercere consueverint seu intendunt, utique dicta confraternitas majora in dies suscipiat incrementa ac presenti et pro tempore existentes dictæ confraternitatis confratres in hujusmodi piorum operum exercitio confoveantur, ac magis ad ea imposterum exercenda nec non alii Christi fideles ad dictam Confraternitatem de cetero ingrediendam peramplius invitentur dictaque ecclesia in debita veneracione habeatur, et ab ipsis Christi fidelibus congruis frequententur honoribus de ejusdem omnipotentis Dei ac beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum ejus auctoritate confisi omnibus et singulis utriusque sexus Christi fidelibus vere pœnitentibus et confessis qui dictam confraternitatem de cetero ingredientur et in ea recipiuntur die prima eorum ingressus si Sanctissimum Eucharistie Sacramentum sumpserint nec non ad præsens et pro tempore existentibus dictæ confraternitatis confratribus vere pœnitentibus et confessis ac sacra communione si id commode fieri poterit reffectis aut saltem contritis in illorum mortis articulo pium nomen Jesu corde si ore nequiverint devote invocantibus aut aliquid pœnitentiæ signum facientibus. Insuper iisdem confratribus dictis vere pœnitentibus et confessis ac dicta sacra communione reffectis qui dictam ecclesiam vel cappellam [*sic*] seu altare dictæ confraternitatis in dicta ecclesia sitam seu situm in die festo Pentecostes a primis vespere usque ad occasum solis diei festi hujusmodi annis singulis devote visitaverint inibique pro sanctæ matris ecclesiæ exaltacione, hæresium extirpacione, hereticorum infideliumque conversione, ac inter Christianos Principes concilianda et fovenda pace concordia et unione, ac pro tempore existentis Romani Pontificis salute pias ad Deum preces effluderint, quo die festo hujusmodi id pro tempore fecerint Indulgentiam Plenariam et omnium peccatorum suorum veniam et remissionem apostolica auctoritate tenore presentium perpetuo concedimus: et elargiamur præterea ipsis confratribus qui similiter vere pœnitentes et confessi ac sumpto devote sanctissimo Eucharistie Sacramento Ecclesiam predictam seu cappellam vel altare hujusmodi in quatuor aliis anni festivitibus per dictos confratres eligendis, et per ordinarium loci dicti approbandis:

quæ semel electæ et approbatæ amplius variari non possint citra tamen festum Paschalis Resurrectionis Dominicæ annis singulis dictis devote ut supra visitaverint et ut prædicatur oraverint quo die quatuor posteriorum festivitatum hujusmodi id pro tempore fecerint septem annos et totidem quadragenas postremo iisdem confratribus quoties missis et aliis divisis officiis in Ecclesia hujusmodi more confirmandis celebrandis aut congregationibus publicis vel secretis dictæ confraternitatis pro quocumque pio opere exercendo aut processionibus ordinariis vel extraordinariis tam dictæ confraternitatis quam quibusvis aliis de licentia ordinariis faciendis vel sePELLIENDIS [*sic*] mortuis officiose interfuerint, aut ipsum sanctissimum Eucharistiæ Sacramentum dum ad aliquem infirmum adfertur associaverint aut qui hoc facere impediti campanæ ad id signo dato genibus flexis semel orationem Dominicam et Salutacionem Angelicam pro eodem infirmo recitaverint, vel pauperes peregrinos hospitio exceperint aut eleemosinis et officiis adjuverint, vel infirmos visitaverint eosque in eorum adversitatibus consolati fuerint, aut quinquies orationem et toties salutacionem prædictas pro animabus confratrum dictæ confraternitatis in Christi charitate defunctorum recitaverint, vel devium aliquem ad salutis viam reduxerint, aut pacem cum inimicis propriis vel alienis composuerint, seu ignorantes Dei precepta et quæ ad salutem sunt docuerint aut aliquid aliud spiritualis vel corporalis misericordiæ opus exercuerint, toties pro quolibet præmissorum piorum operum exercitio, sexaginta dies de injunctis eis vel alias quomodo debitis pænitentiis misericorditer in Domino auctoritate et tenore præmissis et perpetuo relaxamus, præsentibus perpetuis futuris temporibus duraturis. Volumus autem quod si dicta confraternitas alicui archiconfraternitati aggregata sit, vel imposterum aggregetur seu quavis alia ratione vel causa pro illius indulgentiis conquerendis, vel de illis participandis uniatur, vel alias quomodo instituat priorum seu quævis aliæ literæ desuper obtentæ præterquam præsentibus nullatenus et suffragentur sed ex tunc prorsus nullæ sint eo ipso: idemque si confratribus ratione præmissorum aut alias aliqua alia indulgentia perpetua vel ad certum tempus nondum elapsam duratura per Nos concessa fuerit, secundum præsentibus literas nullius sint roboris vel momenti. Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno Incarnacionis Dominicæ Millesimo Septingentesimo Vigesimo Septimo Idorum Junii, Pontificatus Nostri Anno quarto."

Mr. J. W. Baily exhibited the following objects found on the site of St. Benet's Church, Gracechurch-street,—a very fine purple glass bowl, reeded; purple glass neck, with handle, of a glass vessel; ditto, ditto, green glass; fragment of a green glass dish; two cards of fragments of glass; card of fragments of Cologne ware; Samian cup; earthen lamp; four beads, Egyptian; fragment of a Saxon comb; card of rings; card of bells and bronze fragments; bronze spear; Bristol puzzle-ring.

The Chairman remarked that the comb, ring-money, and bronze spear-head, bore a strong resemblance to some that had been found in Ireland.

Mr. Walter L. Holt exhibited a brass bas-relief, in repoussée work, representing the Last Supper, executed by Nicholas Van Veen, son of Jacob Willemsen van Veen, and brother to Martin van Veen, known as "Martin Heemskerck." He was born at Heemskerck in 1500, and settled at Delft, of which town he became a magistrate. He was considered one of the best workers in metal of his day, and died at Delft in 1558. The bas-relief is signed, and bears the date 1522.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, V.P., read the following paper on

"THE CUP OF TANTALUS."

"The pages of eastern romance tell of fair cities which the weary see afar off, but which continually recede before their advancing steps; of sumptuous banquets which the hungry behold, but can never reach; of enchanted groves laden with refreshing fruits which no mortal hand can touch, but which hang aloft to mock the exhausted traveller with their pleasant aspect and delicious perfume; of dashing cataracts and rippling streams and crystal fountains dazzling the eyes with Iris hues, and delighting the ear with welcome sounds, but for a draught of which the thirsty wanderer vainly pants. The cunning craftsmen of the Celestial Empire have striven to give, in some degree, a reality to the latter fable, in the construction of vessels in which the coveted liquor may be seen, but which is denied to the lips of all save those who are initiated into the secret mechanism of the magic goblet. This vessel may be described as a sort of vase or jug; the body more or less richly decorated; the neck pierced with various devices, and having a thick, tubular rim with a tubular handle springing from it, and opening into the vessel near its base, and through which the liquor may be drawn into the rim on applying the lips to one of the short pipe-formed spouts which jut from it. The spouts vary in number from two to eight, one only being pierced; the joke being to set the ignoramus to try and suck the juice through one of the blind spouts. Nor is this all, for the open spout is sometimes perforated beneath, so that if care be not taken to close the aperture with the lips, the liquor flows through the unsuspected hole, to the great discomfort of the inexperienced drinker, well justifying the title of '*surprise hydraulique*' given to the vessel by the French. Some of these magic cups were probably transported from China to Europe, by the Venetian merchants, early in the sixteenth century; for before the close of that era they were imitated in the majolica and delft wares of Italy and Holland, and in the *grès flamand* and brown stoneware of the Rhine. And we have good proof that our own workmen soon copied the foreign vessels in white and coloured pottery,

and designated them 'puzzle cups,' 'cups of Tantalus,' and 'siphon jugs.'

"The Tantalus cups of Italy are not only the earliest but the most elegant of European manufacture, displaying well painted mythological and allegorical subjects, and armorial bearings indicative of the families for whose amusement they were fabricated. An interesting example may be seen among the majolica ware in the British Museum, the perforated neck of which is coloured blue, the body being decorated with representations of mythological personages. There are also in the national collection two examples of the Cup of Tantalus, of English manufacture, which contrast most unfavourably with the elegant Italian product. That which appears to be the oldest may be assigned to the commencement of the seventeenth century, and is of red glazed ware, and seems to have had three spouts, with the cylindrical neck decorated with crescent-shaped and round perforations. The other cup is of the time of Charles II, and differs much in form from the preceding. It is bowl shaped, with four ducks in full swim on its upper edge; a loop-handle at back; and moderately long cylindrical spout in front, on which strides a little fellow with a low crowned, broad-brimmed hat. The upper part of the vessel is pierced with round holes; and the body bears the date 1662, and the initials H. I. in white pipe-clay upon a deep chocolate coloured glaze.

"A vessel of allied character to the foregoing, but of loftier proportions, formed lot 3019 of the sale of the Bernal Collection 1855, and was somewhat vaguely described in the *Catalogue* (p. 250) as 'a curious English brown earthenware bowl-shaped drinking-cup and cover, with four handles, one hollow for trick to spill liquors, with ornaments, and Prince of Wales' feathers; no date, probably about 1620—10 in. high.'

"There is in the South Kensington Museum a Tantalus cup, with two short spouts on the rim, its neck decorated all round with diagonal slits, and having a loop handle at back. It is of greyish-coloured glazed ware, painted with fine tendrils and green leaves; the front being inscribed with the date 1666, divided by an emblematical figure of a draped angel performing on a gittern—the vessel being typical of mirth, the seraphic minstrel of harmony. In the same Museum may be seen a Tantalus cup of delft ware, with stellate perforations in the neck, and the front painted with orange-flowers with green leaves. This was formerly in the Bandinel Collection.

"A fine example of a three-spouted cup of Tantalus, of the seventeenth century, wrought of delft ware, is kindly submitted to us by Mr. J. W. Baily. It is 8 in. in height, the cylindrical neck perforated with rosettes and hearts, the base of the loop handle decorated with a mask, and the ovoidal body painted with blue flowers, &c. This vessel formed lot 13 in a sale of pottery and porcelain in Wellington Street, April 14th, 1869,

and is described in the *Catalogue* as 'an early Bristol Puzzle Jug,' and if this location be correct, it would show that a pottery existed at Bristol full three-quarters of a century before Richard Champion began his works at Castle Green, and Joseph Ring at Temple Backs, for the specimen cannot be assigned to a later period than the reign of William III.

"Occasionally the cups of Tantalus not only display dates and initials, but inscriptions more or less lengthy. As an instance of a brief legend we may cite the following, incised on a yellow band on a three-spouted puzzle jug, formerly in the possession of Mr. James Mills, of Castle Meadow, Norwich, and sold with the rest of his collection in June 1865, '*The Ale is good taste,*' a most aggravating invitation to the thirsty soul who knows not the trick of the siphon. The inscriptions at times are of a poetical character. Dr. Kendrick places before us a seventeenth century three-spouted jug,  $6\frac{3}{4}$  in. high, of delft ware, the rosettes and cordiformed perforations in the neck of which are edged with blue, and the globose body painted with flowers in the same colour, and written on the front is the following invocation and declaration:—

'Here, Gentlemen, Come, try your skill,  
 ile hold awager if you will,  
 That you Dont Drink this Liquor all  
 with ought you Spill or let some fall.'

"At the sale of pottery at Wellington-street, referred to above, lot 32 was "a Staffordshire puzzle jug with a figure of a frog inside, the handle formed as a figure of Fame, with inscription:—

'Fame doth her trumpet sound,  
 So you must drink all round  
 To great George the king.                      May 14, 1780.'

"Tantalus cups were among the early productions of the Leeds pottery works, opened about 1770, and continued to be there made until quite the commencement of the present century. They were of white ware, frequently painted in gay colours, with stripes, flowers, and fanciful designs, to which were occasionally added two or three lines of doggerel rhyme.

"Dr. Kendrick has a puzzle jug of brown stone ware, manufactured at Chesterfield, Derbyshire, which is decorated in relief with figures of Toby Philpott and other lusty toppers. And I exhibit an example of the same material from the Sunderland works. It, like the majority of such vessels, has three spouts, the neck pierced with hearts, stars, circles, and triangles, and the body embossed with figures of dogs, birds, and sportsmen, reminding us of the scenes displayed on many a bowl of Samian ware. I purchased this jug off a crockery-stall in Knights-bridge, on July 24th 1858, for a couple of shillings.

“All the examples of Tantalus cups that I have seen have been the work of the potter, but I have been told that many old families in Yorkshire formerly possessed rich silver vessels, constructed on the same principle as those of earth here described, which were regarded as curiosities of considerable age, and produced at Christmas festivities to puzzle and perplex the stranger.

“The cup of Tantalus now seldom flows with generous potations, but stands empty, and almost forgotten, amid the treasures of the virtuoso, — a quaint monument of the fun and frolic of days of yore. But though the antique goblet has become obsolete and neglected, a young relative, a first cousin, made its *début* at Manchester in the year 1840, and for a time was highly popular in London, and though less mischievous in its doings, was no whit behind its ancestor in cruel mockery. I allude to the *Porter-glass*, the tumbler with hollow sides and bottom, filled with brown naphtha, which, when shaken, foams like the ‘best entire,’ but which, as delusive as the mirage of the desert, yields no relief to the parched throat. The vessel’s brim may touch the expectant lip, but the liquor remains imprisoned within its obdurate case.

“Many and many a time have the puzzle-jug and porter-glass vexed the spirit, fired the indignation, and annihilated the hopes of ardent drinkers; but what is their transient, momentary disappointment, compared to the everlasting longing, quickened by ever-increasing thirst, met by never-ending denial, endured by the Lydian monarch whose name fancy has associated with the vessels we have been considering, and of whom it is said in the *Odyssey* (xi, 719-24):—

‘Tantalus along the Stygian bounds,  
Pours out deep groans (with groans all Hell resounds),  
Ev’n in the circling floods refreshment craves,  
And pines with thirst amidst a sea of waves,  
When to the water he his lip applies  
Back from his lip the treach’rous water flies.’”<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Gordon M. Hills, Hon. Treasurer, called attention to the Roman tomb recently discovered at Westminster Abbey, and said he had carefully examined this relic on several occasions, and the place in which it was discovered early in December last; he had also examined the spot after the removal of the coffin, when, by consent of the Dean, at the request of Mr. Black, the learned palæographer of the Association, its site had been searched to a greater depth. Mr. Hills continued:—

“Under the advice of the architect, Mr. G. G. Scott, it had been

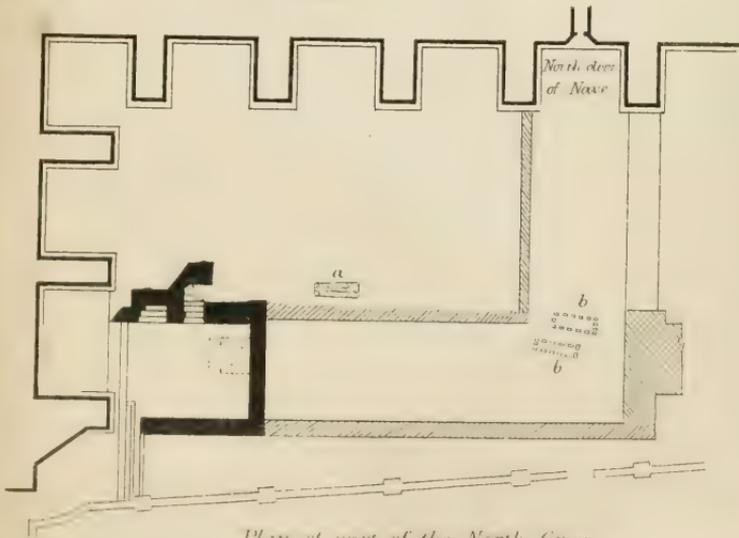
<sup>1</sup> Among Chinese inventions is a “magic cup,” the idea of which seems to be derived from the story of Tantalus, as it represents a man who can see, but never taste, the fluid which surrounds him. The cup has an interior dome with a circular aperture at top, through which a little figure rises as water is poured into the vessel.





*Roman Sarcophagus from Westminster Abbey*

*The Nave*



*Plan of part of the North Green*

*a site of the Roman Sarcophagus  
b b chalk graves*

Scale of 0 10 20 30 40 50 Feet

G. M. H. del.

resolved to lower the surface of the ground known as the North Green, adjoining the north aisle of the nave and the west side of the north transept. It was the execution of this ground-work which led to this interesting and valuable discovery of the Roman tomb in question. Messrs. Poole, the Abbey masons, who are doing the ground-work, have most obligingly furnished to me much valuable information. To them I am indebted for the photograph of the tomb, and for the plan which exhibits the spot where the tomb was found, and the extent of foundation discovered. The plan shows the tomb 38 ft. distant from the buttresses of the nave aisle, and 35 ft. from the transept buttresses. The top of the tomb, which was about three feet under ground, was 2 ft. 6 in. below the floor of the Abbey church. The tomb was at first removed into the cloister of the Abbey, and subsequently into the north-west tower of the Abbey church. It is of a coarse oolite stone, both coffin and lid, which Mr. Poole suggested to me is from Gloucestershire, but may be, I fancy, from Northamptonshire. The coffin is hollowed out to a plain oblong shape, and not formed inside in any way to the shape of a human body. The lid, originally in one stone, is broken into several pieces, but the whole of it is preserved and fitted together. It at first seemed to be only in two pieces, but on raising the lid other fractures declared themselves. The coffin contained a skeleton, which had been disturbed, and has been placed now in the hands of Professor Huxley, with what result I do not know. The coffin is 6 ft. 10 in. long, 2 ft. 5 in. wide at the head, tapered, if the taper were complete, to about 3 in. less at the foot, is 1 ft. 6 in. high outside, and the lid adds 7 in. more to the height. The actual width of the coffin at the foot is about 2 in. less than what I have above stated, because on the front, for a length of about 5 in., the stone has been sloped or tapered off more suddenly, evidently to let the foot of the coffin into a recess narrower than the regular taper of the coffin would have permitted. I do not mean that this additional taper has been made subsequently. I have no doubt it was of the original design, and necessary to the original position of the tomb. On the back and both ends the coffin is quite bare of ornament, and on these three parts was evidently intended to be out of sight. The top of the lid, and one side of the coffin, which I call the front, are marked in a most interesting manner. First the front. The wrought, or ornamental portion, extends from the head as far as the abrupt taper across towards the foot, and is evidently a perfect design, which shows that a few inches at the foot of the coffin was designed originally to be out of sight, as I have suggested. The ornamental work is in three panels, the centre one, 4 ft. 7 in. long, contains an inscription, and the small panel, of about 8 in. wide, on each side of it contains, in very low relief, an ornament which will be understood by reference to the engraving (Plate 7). It is, in fact, a

form of shield in use among certain Roman soldiers. The central panel is a simple oblong, slightly sunk, it has a small ogee-moulding round it, with this inscription incised in the field :—

MEMORIAE. VALER. AMAN-  
DINI. VALERI. SVPERVEN  
TOR. ET. MARCELLVS. PATRI. FECER

“The whole of these ornaments and lettering are as perfect as on the day they were cut, and the coffin bears no mark of exposure to the weather (not so the lid). The coffin, I think it is clear, was designed to stand in a niche or *arcosolium*, such as we read of in descriptions of the Roman catacombs. The niche was not by a few inches so wide as the length of the coffin, and hence some part towards the foot, where the ornament stops, was let into the side of the niche. I took care to submit a description of the discovery to our Vice-President, Mr. Prebendary Scarth, and he has been good enough to give me his opinions on the coffin, and has communicated on the subject with Mr. Kenrick at York. I will give the substance of their communications presently. I now turn to a consideration of the lid. I must confess to having had a good deal of balancing in my own mind as to the date of the lid. It is slightly coped, that is to say sloped from the centre, forming a ridge there to the sides. On the top of the lid is a massive cross *patée* of the Latin form, *i. e.*, having a long stem, with the cross at the top. The foot terminates in a single leaf between two scroll-like branches at the very extremity of the stone. This work is much more rudely executed than that on the front of the coffin, and the surface of the lid is somewhat perished, probably the effect of the soak from the ground directly down upon it. When first I saw the coffin the lid had been removed and I saw only a drawing of the latter. I then thought that clearly an old Roman tomb had been appropriated in the eleventh or twelfth century to a new burial, and the cross had been cut upon its lid at this time. The tale which Bede gives us of how the monks of Ely searched out in the ruins of Grantchester a tomb for their patron Saint Etheldreda, and appropriated it, at once came to my mind. Next I saw the lid by itself, and I was struck with its aspect of antiquity, and somewhat hoped, too, that it might be an evidence of that pre-Augustine Christianity respecting whose relics our active associate, Mr. Grover, is so interested. I suggested this idea to Mr. Scarth, and pointed out that crosses were common sepulchral emblems in the fifth and sixth centuries. Again I saw the lid and coffin together, and now I think there can be no doubt the work upon the lid is eleventh or twelfth century, it is so different from the careful workmanship of the front of the coffin, and that which I think is conclusive is that the cross is worked to the extreme foot of the lid, and must have been made when the entire length of the tomb was intended to be in sight, and not, as

was originally the case with the tomb, when a part of it, and its original lid at the foot, was made to be concealed. An interesting question remains, can the tomb by any probability be in or near to the position it held in Roman times? I saw the pit out of which the coffin was removed before the soil had been further disturbed. The whole soil at this part is a mass of loose sand. I saw this removed to a depth of 4 ft. lower than where the coffin stood without any change in the soil occurring, and I also saw the ground pierced to a further depth of about 5 ft., at which depth the soil became more consistent and clayey. I cannot avoid the conclusion that a great part of the mass of sand, all its upper part, has accumulated here in the progress of the Abbey buildings. A consideration of the building of the time of Henry III accounts for this. At the time of my visit an examination of the stupendous foundation of the adjacent Abbey walls was also in progress. The foundation and the soil were exposed along the whole of the west side of the north transept. The foundation is an immense mass of masonry forming a huge platform wide enough for the base of the massive walls, and of the whole projection of the immense buttresses. The extreme width of this foundation is fully 30 ft. at the bottom, it narrows in by steps to about 20 ft. at the top, and is about 10ft. deep. The vast excavation for it was made entirely through sand, and the lower part of the masonry appeared to have been thrown into the trench when the bottom was full of water or quicksand. In such a case the intrusion of the foundation would force the sand from under it, and into the adjoining area, and would add bulk, besides that of the vast mass of the clearing out to form the trench, the latter being thrown aside and spread over the neighbouring surface. In the sand thus thrown out and spread, probably when the rebuilding of the Abbey of the time of Henry III was in progress, the tomb has been found. There is no mark or trace of any foundation on which to set the tomb, nor of the niche or mausoleum in which it must have been placed originally. Some such trace must inevitably have been found if this had been the original site of the tomb. To my mind the history is clearly this—A Roman tomb procured elsewhere was appropriated to an interment in the eleventh or twelfth century, and the cross then cut upon the lid. In the thirteenth century, at the rebuilding of the Abbey, the tomb was again disturbed, and probably at this time its lid was broken. The tomb was this time placed and left on the soil thrown out from the Abbey foundations, where it has now been found again.

“With respect to other foundations of walls exposed in the course of the works which have brought the tomb to light, I must say a few words. Those which adjoin the Abbey transept, distinguished by black on the plan (Plate 7), are of mediæval work. They form three sides of a sunk chamber, of which the transept foundation forms the fourth



On the south side are slight remains of a fifteenth century door at the foot of a winding stair. In the chamber itself are some remains of brickwork of post-Reformation date. From the chamber two parallel walls extend in an L-shape, which seem to have enclosed a passage leading to the north door of the nave at X. The larger of these two walls remains 5 ft. and 6 ft., and in parts to a greater depth, in the ground; and has, perhaps, some claim to be considered coeval with the sunk chamber. The inner wall was founded hardly so low down as the top of the tomb, and is full of the *débris* of modern buildings. After careful search I failed to discover any trace of antiquity about it. I had been led to suppose that the mortar of some of these walls had the Roman admixture of pounded brick; but there is not the least ground for connecting them with Roman work.

“In reference to the tomb, the Rev. Prebendary Scarth says, although there is no reason that a Roman Christian burial should not be found, yet he is inclined to think the same has been practised here as was done by the monks of Ely when they procured a Roman white marble tomb from Grantchester for their abbess, and that the cross in the lid is of the time of the second interment. Mr. Scarth reminds us also of the coffin, which he describes as Roman, found at Langridge, near Bath (see *Journal*, xiii, p. 152), and which contained a fine mediæval *martel de fer*, proving that a second interment had taken place in that case. Two more coffins, he adds, have lately been found near the same spot, and the bones within them have been sent to Professor Rolleston, at Oxford, for examination. Mr. Scarth cautiously suggests that the naturalists may be wrong in assigning one and the same era to the bones of men and of extinct animals simply because they are found together, without seeking out a clue to the circumstances which may have brought them together. Such a clue exists in the case of the Westminster coffin, and shows, according to his belief, that the cross and the coffin are distinct works of two eras. Mr. Scarth translates the inscription thus: ‘To the memory of Valerius Amandinus, the son of Valerius. The Superventor and Marcellus have made this to their father.’ Mr. Kenrick, of York, says that the *superventores* are mentioned along with the *preventores* by Ammianus Marcellinus (xxiii, 9, 3) in the account of Julian’s eastern campaign; and seem to have been light-armed soldiers, of whom this is, perhaps, the earliest mention. To this force probably belonged one of the sons of Valerius; and if he returned to bury his father in Britain, we must fix the date of the sarcophagus subsequent to the time (363 A.D.) of the Emperor Julian. The interment might be that of a Roman Christian at that time, and a Christian emblem might have been used.”

Mr. H. F. Holt exhibited a most elegant collection of objects, formerly belonging to Gustavus Adolphus and Christina of Sweden, and others

illustrative of the principal events of their lives. They consisted of carved ivory hanaps, medallions, coins, and rings; and Mr. Holt promised to lay a detailed description of them before the members at some future period.

26 JANUARY, 1870.

REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, M.A., F.S.A., V.P. IN THE CHAIR.

The election of the following member was announced, Henry Brownrigg, Esq., 33, Lime-street, E.C., and Fitzroy-road, Regent's Park, N.W.

Thanks were returned for the following presents:

- To the Society*, Royal Archæological Institute, for Journal, No. 100. 8vo. London, 1868.
- „ „ The University of Christiania, for “Fortælling om Thomas Becket Erkebiskop af Canterbury efter Gamle Haandskrifter udgiven som Universitetsprogram for andet Semester.” 8vo. Christiania, 1869.
- „ „ Society of Antiquaries, for Proceedings, vol. iv, Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6. 8vo. London, 1868, 1869.
- „ „ for Archæologia, vol. 42, Part I. 4to. London, 1869.
- To W. H. Black, Esq., F.S.A.*, for Mill Yard Publications, No. I; being “The Last Legacy of Joseph Davis Simon, with Documents relating to him and his Benefactions;” edited by W. H. Black, Esq., F.S.A., etc. Small 8vo. London, 1869.

Mr. Blashill exhibited fragments of a small Roman *amphora* and *gula*, and a spur, probably of the reign of Edward IV; all found at the bottom of Suffolk-lane, Thames-street.

Mr. Walter L. Holt exhibited a Roman bell with clapper, found, January 1867, in the bed of the river Rhone, at Trinquetaille, opposite the town of Arles in France, and gave the following description of it: “The bell, the dimensions of which are,—height,  $4\frac{3}{4}$  ins.; width at top, 4 ins.; ditto at bottom, 5 ins.; depth at top,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ins.; ditto at bottom,  $3\frac{1}{4}$  ins.; height of handle,  $1\frac{3}{4}$  ins.; span of ditto,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ins.,—is probably one of those used by the Roman guard in making their night rounds, as



was their ordinary custom in fortified towns. The supposition that it is so appears to be well founded, from its size and form, as well as from the fact that at the time of the Romans Trinquetaille was of more

importance than Arles itself; possessing its fortifications, temples, and hot baths, of which vestiges still remain. Whenever the waters of the Rhone are unusually low, discoveries are made of pottery, funeral lamps, *amphore*, bronze ornaments, and figures and utensils of various shapes and sizes."

Mr. Cuming remarked that the bell now exhibited closely resembled some that had been found in Ireland and Scotland, with saints' names upon them, which were carried as a species of amulet.

Mr. Alfred Sadler read a paper on "Hunebeds, or Cromlechs in the Province of Drenthe, Holland," which will be found at pp. 53-60 *ante*. He also exhibited photographic views of some of them, a plan of their relative positions, sketches of the objects that had been found in them, and drawings of their restoration to what appears to have been their original forms.

Mr. Black remarked that it was of the greatest moment that the positions of such ancient monuments as these should be carefully noted and accurately recorded, and that the monuments themselves should be religiously preserved. He considered them of the greatest importance, as confirming certain geometrical measurements of the Romans which he had himself often pointed out; and he mentioned the destruction of the "Constantine Pebble" in Cornwall as an instance of the ruthlessness with which such remains were treated. This "Pebble" was invaluable as a record of such monuments as those he had referred to, and as far as he knew no authentic account of it was extant.

The Chairman quite agreed with Mr. Black in regretting the destruction of the "Constantine Pebble" and similar monuments, too many of which had, he regretted to say, been destroyed, or suffered to fall into decay, within the last few years.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, V.P., exhibited, and read the following paper on, "Memorials of the Royal Oak":

"No other country on the face of the globe can boast of so many memorable trees as England, and amid those forest treasures none are more renowned, more venerated, more widely celebrated, than that ancient oak whose fame has reached, as it were, the very heavens, and from the year 1676 given title to the constellation, *Robur Caroli*. How came that hallowed oak at Boscobel? Was the tiny seed chance-dropped by the parent tree upon the soil, to germinate as best it could? Or did some Heaven-guided hand plant the acorn which in due time sprouted from the earth, and, growing to lusty maturity, spread forth its leafy arms to shelter and preserve the scion of a royal lineage, a conquered chieftain, a hunted monarch, upon whose perilous track a regicidal band were panting for his blood? As we look back into by-gone times we see how the conduct of a sanguinary war, the life of a prince, the fortunes of a dynasty, the very destiny of three mighty

kingdoms, must once have really been involved and centred in the fate of a little seed of some sixty grains weight. Interesting, profoundly interesting, would it be to learn the history of this seed from its beginning; but we know nothing of it till it had passed its youth, become a tree of goodly size, and was selected by that brave and faithful soldier, Major William Carless, as a safe hiding place for his unfortunate master, King Charles II, after his defeat at Worcester fight on Sept. 3, 1651. Charles himself describes this *quercus robur* as 'a great oak that had been lopped some three or four years before, and being grown out again very bushy and thick, could not be seen through.' We may pass over the oft repeated story of how Charles and Carless climbed up into this arborescent retreat by means of the hen-roost ladder, how food was reached them with the nut-hook, how the major supported the royal head upon a pillow, and the various hair-breadth scapes of sovereign and subject: all these moving incidents may be found recorded in the *Boscobel Tracts*.

"The royal oak had a quiet life of it during the Protectorate, for few were then aware of the important part it had played in the great political drama of the day; but soon after the Restoration the secret of its services was revealed, and from that hour it was a doomed tree; doomed, however, not through hate and ill will towards it, but from a boundless, immeasurable love the people felt for *Carolus a Carolo*, and their ardent desire to possess some portion of the verdant sanctuary which had secured his safety whilst the Roundheads were seeking his destruction. Shortly after the king's return to England he visited Boscobel, and carried away with him some acorns from the friendly oak, which he planted in St. James' Park, near the site of Marlborough House, and watered with his own hands. In Hyde-Park, on the north side of the Serpentine, near the Powder Magazine, formerly flourished two oaks raised from acorns set by the monarch; and another offspring of the famous old tree was to be seen in the Botanic Garden, Chelsea, but the recollection of which has faded from that locality.

"The Royalists from every corner of the land made pilgrimage to Boscobel, and to save the tree from utter annihilation by the relic-hunters, it was at length protected by a square enclosure of brickwork, the interior being planted with laurels, and above the entrance was placed a marble tablet bearing the following inscription:—'Feliciiss. Arborem quam in Asylum Potentiss. Regis Car. 2d quem Deus Opt. Max. Quem Reges regnant, hic crescere voluit, Tam in perpet. Rei tantæ Memoriam, Quam in Specimen firmæ in Regem Fidei, Muro cinctam, Posteris commendant, Basilius et Jana Fitzherbert. Quercus Amica Jovi.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Cole's MSS., vol. xxiv, in the British Museum. This copy of the legend differs slightly from that given in Stukeley's *Itinerarium Curiosum*. London, 1724.

The first walling having become ruinous, it was rebuilt in the year 1787, and on it was placed the subjoined legend:—‘*Quercus Amica Jovi. Felicissimam hanc arborem, quam in Asylum Potentissimi Regis Caroli II. Deus Optimus Maximus, per quem Reges regnant, hic crescere voluit, tam in perpetuam Rei tantæ Memoriam, quam in specimen firmæ in Reges Fidei, Muro cinctam Posteris commendant Basilius et Jana Fitzherbert. Quod Pietatis monumentum jam vetustate collapsum paternarum virtutum Hæredes et avite in Principes Fidei Æmulatores, in integrum restituerunt Basilius et Eliza Fitzherbert. iiii Cal. Junii An. Hum. Sal. MDCCCLXXXII.*’ This inscription may be thus rendered into English: ‘Sacred to Jupiter is the oak. This most fortunate tree, which God the All-Good and the Almighty here caused to flourish as an asylum to the most powerful King Charles II, Basil and Jane Fitzherbert have surrounded with a wall, that it may be secured to posterity as a perpetual memorial of so great a king, and a proof of their fidelity towards monarchs; which monument of piety, now decayed through age, is rebuilt by Basil and Elizabeth Fitzherbert, the heirs of paternal virtue, and the emulators of their ancestors in their fidelity towards princes, 4th June, 1787.’

“Though those fell destroyers, time and man, seemed bent on the extirpation of the royal oak, the beneficent old tree was yet willing and able to perpetuate its lineage; and when Stukeley visited Boscobel, in the early part of last century, he saw a thriving offspring growing by the side of the revered parent; and which, I am told, still flourishes in green old age. And long may it flourish, the pride, boast, and glory of loyal Salop!

“As previously hinted, the demolition of King Charles’ tree commenced very soon after the Restoration, and some of the pieces of wood cut from it were wrought into different forms, according to their dimensions and the taste of their owners. Hence we hear of boxes made of, or inlaid with, the precious timber; of its being carved into tobacco-stoppers with the royal bust at top; of acorn-shaped cane-knobs; knife-handles with gilded acorns at their butts; beads, and other trifles; which, however numerous they may have been at one time, are now of excessive rarity.

“In the Bodleian Library, Oxford, is a salver or tankard-stand turned out of the wood of the Royal Oak, and bearing an inscription recording it to be the gift of Mrs. Letitia Lane, a member of the family who lent such important assistance to the monarch when he was making his escape from England. In the chapel at Gopsal Hall, Leicestershire, is a Communion Table, the standards of which are made of the wood of the Royal Oak; and I now submit the model of a dining-table, wrought in Shropshire, of the timber of this hallowed tree, and which has from the period of its construction been in the possession of my family,

every branch of which were staunch adherents of the house of Stuart. This curious miniature piece of furniture has an oval two-flapped top measuring  $14\frac{1}{4}$  ins. by  $12\frac{1}{4}$  ins., and its height is little short of  $8\frac{1}{2}$  ins. The legs are baluster-shaped, with globose feet and square cross-bars; and the whole thing has evidently been made with considerable care and attention to details. This valuable and unique relic must not be looked upon as a child's toy, but as a model (an cetype, in all likelihood) of a table off which the king ate during his stay at Boscobel.

“As above stated, boxes were inlaid with and made of the wood of the famous tree which now engages our thoughts; and among Lord Willoughby d'Eresby's contributions to the Loan Collection at South Kensington, in 1862, was an example thus described in the *Catalogue* (p. 347): ‘Oval tobacco-box made of the wood of the Royal Oak, mounted in silver, with a silver plate on the lid, engraved with King Charles hiding in the oak tree, and his pursuers galloping past. On a scroll at bottom is written, *‘Ne memoria etiam abeat in fumum.’*’

“A snuffbox, in the lid of which is enshrined a slice of the much prized timber, is in the collection of our esteemed Vice-President, the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson; and which, I may be permitted to state, has called the present paper into existence. The sides, bottom, and lining of the lid of this valuable relic-box are of silver, a plaque of the Royal Oak being framed in the lid, and decorated with an engraved *applique* of silver representing the sacred tree, amid the spreading boughs of which appears the full-faced bust of the king in armour, and before his flowing locks were shorn for the sake of disguise. On the sinister side is an angel supporting three crowns, and flying towards the monarch. On either side of the stout stem is a horseman, two of the rebel troopers who passed by whilst Major Carless and the sought-for Charles Stuart were in their umbrageous hiding-place. In the foreground, on a ribbon, are the words, SACRA JOVI QUERCUS. This highly interesting memento of the king's preservation is stated to have formerly been in the collection at Warwick Castle.

“Mr. Simpson has kindly directed my attention to a woodcut of a box so like his own in design, that it might be taken at first sight for a representation of it. It is, however, of larger size and different form, being an oval,  $3\frac{1}{8}$  ins. in length; and there are certain variations in the details of the subject which mark a further difference. Take, for instance, the two equestrians. In Mr. Simpson's box they look outward; in the print they gaze at each other. The horse of the dexter figure on the box is pacing; in the print it is prancing: and the trooper, in the first instance, holds up a sword; in the second, no sword is introduced. And further, the ribbon containing the motto takes a different curve in the two specimens. We have, therefore, evidence of the existence of three boxes with portions of the Royal Oak in their

lids, and which there is reason to believe were made by order of King Charles II, and by him presented to persons intimately concerned in his preservation at Boscobel.

“Boxes were not the only form into which the timber of the dear old tree was wrought for the purposes of presentation. One of the monarch’s gifts to the Pendrells was a large watch-key, the cordiformed oaken body of which is about three-eighths of an inch thick, and faced with silver plates; one graven with a profile bust of the king to the right, placed amid foliate boughs; the other with the words, ‘*Quercus Car. 2d Conservatrix, 1651.*’ At top is a silver acorn, and the winding-pipe is of brass. In the year 1833 this curious relic was in the possession of Mrs. Cope of No. 3, Regent-street, Westminster, a descendant of the Pendrell family; and a delineation of it is given in the *Mirror*, xxi, 345.

“It will be observed that on the Pendrell watch-key, as on the several boxes here described, it is only the bust of the sovereign which is shown in the tree; and this peculiarity is also found on the *rechnung pfennigs* struck by Lazarus Gotlieb Laufer at Nuremberg, one of which I exhibit; and which, from its being perforated, has evidently been worn as a medal by some devoted Royalist. On the reverse is “THE ROYALL OAK,” in which is placed the profile bust of Charles to the right, and on its branches hang three crowns; whilst above, in the clouds, shines forth the human-faced sun. In the exergue are the dye-sinker’s initials, L. G. L’R. The reverse bears the royal arms, supporters, and crest, dividing the letters C. R., which are ensigned by little crowns. Beneath, in a label, is the motto, DIEV . ET . MON . DROIT.

“In some mementos of Charles’ preservation at Boscobel we find the effigy of the king altogether ignored, the royal personage being symbolised by the presence of one or more crowns in the oak. Such is the case on several medals; among others, those inscribed IAM FLORESCIT and TANDEM REVIRESCET.

“Perhaps one of the most elegant and important existing memorials of the Royal Oak, in which the crown does duty for the monarch, is the parcel-gilt silver grace-cup presented to the barber-surgeons of London by the king in 1678, at which time his chief physician, Sir Charles Scarborough, was master of the said company. This beautiful goblet stands  $16\frac{3}{4}$  ins. in height, and represents a full grown tree, the clustering boughs forming the bowl being decorated with four shields, two of which bear Latin inscriptions recording the presentation, the others having the arms and crest of the barber-surgeons; and from each shield depends a gilt cascade in the shape of an acorn. The cover of the vessel is surmounted by the crown.

“We learn from John Ogilby’s *Relation of His Majesty’s Entertainment, passing through the City of London to his Coronation*, that the first

triumphal arch under which the king went in his journey from the Tower to Westminster was erected in Leadenhall-street, near Lime-street; and that in its centre was an effigy of the monarch, behind whom, he goes on to record, 'on a large table, is deciphered the Royal Oak bearing crowns and sceptres instead of acorns. Amongst the leaves, in a label,

'Miraturque novas frondes et non sua poma.'

*i.e.*, 'Leaves unknown

Admiring, and strange apples not her own',

as designing its reward for the shelter afforded His Majesty after the battle of Worcester.'

"John Evelyn notes in his *Diary*, *sub* Oct. 29th, 1660,—'Going to London, my Lord Maior's show stopped me in Cheapside; one of the pageants representing a greate wood with the Royal Oake, and history of His Majesty's miraculous escape at Boscobel.' The pageant here spoken of was placed near the Nag's Head Tavern.

"No sooner was the Restoration effected than the king's preservation at Boscobel formed the subject of many a trader's sign, and under the title of 'The Royal Oak' has held its ground to the present day all over the country. From the little tokens issued in the seventeenth century, for 'necessary change,' we know of its adoption in London by Francis Morley in Barbican; William Brattle in Brick-lane, Spital-fields; Thomas White in Fore-street, Cripplegate; Randolph Haft in Ratcliff Cross; Robert Wells in White Horse-street, Ratcliff; and John Rewood in Wapping. At this time there are about thirty public houses and other places of refreshment in the metropolis with the sign of 'The Royal Oak,'—a convincing proof of the persistent popularity of this monarch of the forest.

"It is stated in Hotten's *History of Sign-Boards* (3rd ed., p. 50), that 'not many years since one of the descendants of trusty Dick Pendrell kept an inn at Lewes in Sussex, called 'The Royal Oak.' 'King Charles in the Oak' is a sign at Willen Hall, Warwickshire; and we may add that the sovereign's faithful companion in this verdant retreat has not been altogether neglected by Boniface, for the sign of 'Old Careless' still exists at Stapleford in Nottinghamshire. I must remind my readers that the loyal Major's name was originally Careless, Carless, or Carlis; and which, when he rose to the rank of colonel, and received a grant of arms by letters patent under the great seal of England, was changed to Carlos. These said arms claim place among the memorials of the venerable tree of Boscobel, for they display an oak proper in a field *or*, a fesse *gules* charged with three regal crowns of the second; the crest being a civic crown or oaken garland, with a sword and sceptre crossed through it saltierwise: and these words for motto,



'*Subditus Fidelis Regis et Regni Salus*,<sup>1</sup> which my late lamented friend, Mr. E. I. Carlos, anglicised, 'A faithful subject of the king, and a preserver of the monarchy.'

"As Garcia Ximenes founded the Order of the Oak of Navarre, in Spain, so Charles II contemplated the creation of the Order of the Royal Oak in England; which, had it been instituted, would have included among its first knights that zealous royalist, Henry Cromwell, 'first cousin, once removed, to Oliver, Lord Protector.'<sup>2</sup> But the sovereign abandoned the idea of this order, and left his loyal subjects and their descendants to perpetuate the memory of the oak of Boscobel as they thought best.

"Occasion was formerly taken, on each recurring anniversary of the Restoration, to deck the churches with oaken boughs; and also the tomb of the honest-hearted Richard Pendrell, who lies interred in the churchyard of St. Giles in the Fields. The statues of both Charles I and II were adorned with chaplets of oak, and sprigs of oak with gilded apples were sold about the streets to the cry of, 'Here's royal oak, the Whigs to provoke!' Trinkets in the form of oak-apples and acorns were long favourites with royalist ladies, even to within the present century, as is shown in the pretty ear-drops I produce, in which the apples of mock pearl are well set off by the oak leaves of gilded metal. But the oaken branches are no longer seen within our churches on the 29th of May, the royal effigies remain ungarnished, the gilded apples have altogether vanished from our streets, and little now is left to remind us of the king's miraculous preservation at Boscobel beyond the tavern signs, and such precious relics as those here described. But should every trace of the wondrous old oak perish, should every sign displaying its name and figure crumble to dust, its fame will never be forgotten, and outlasting the wreck of factions, the crash of dynasties, and the blotting out of nations, will flourish in verse and fable when history shall have merged into romance, and the present become to the future what the far-remote past is to us. Many a pen has lent its aid to this everlasting renown, and none more nobly than that of Thomas Shipman, who thus chronicles the glories of this glorious tree in his *Carolina, or Loyal Poems*, 1683, p. 53 :

'Blest Charles, then, to an oak his safety owes;  
The Royal Oak, which now in songs shall live  
Until it reach to Heaven with its boughs,—  
Boughs that for loyalty shall garlands give.

<sup>1</sup> See *Gent. Mag.*, May 1844, p. 548. Much like the arms of Charles are those of Peudrell as given in Burke's *Encyclopædia of Heraldry*,—"a. an oak ppr. fruited or, surmounted of a fess sa., charged with three regal crowns also ppr. Crest. a sword and sceptre in saltire, surmounted of a regal crown ppr."

<sup>2</sup> See Noble's *Memoirs of the Cromwell Family*.

‘Let celebrated wits with laurels crown’d,  
 And wreaths of bays, boast their triumphant brows.  
 I will esteem myself far more renown’d  
 In being honoured with these oaken boughs.

‘The genii of the Druids hover’d here,  
 Who under oaks did Britain’s glories sing,  
 Which since in Charles compleated did appear,  
 They gladly come now to protect their king.’”

Mr. H. F. Holt read a paper “On Roman Sarcophagi, with special Reference to the Tomb recently discovered at Westminster Abbey,” (printed at pp. 61-68 *ante*), and exhibited illustrative photographs and sketches.

In reference to a question as to whether the lid of the sarcophagus discovered at the Abbey was of the same date with the sarcophagus itself, Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., Hon. Sec., thought that the cover was of a later period than the tomb, and had been placed upon it at a later period.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills, Hon. Treasurer, considered the tomb and the cover to be both of the same period, as they were both of the same stone; but that the cross upon the lid had been worked subsequently.

Mr. Black thought that the original interment had been disturbed, and that the tomb had been rifled for treasure; the old lid had been broken in the process, and the present cover had been taken from another tomb, probably of the eleventh or twelfth century, and placed over this one.

Considerable discussion having taken place as to whether a cross similar to the one on the Westminster sarcophagus ever occurred on Roman tombs, Mr. Holt said that although examples were exceedingly rare in this country, yet there were innumerable instances of it abroad, and he hoped at a future meeting to lay before the Association strong confirmatory proofs of the truth of his observations. (See *ante*, pp. 62-68.)



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## Proceedings of the Congress.

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MONDAY, 2ND AUGUST, 1869.

AT 12 o'clock at noon the Officers and Council of the Association met at the Court House, where they were soon joined by a numerous body of members and visitors. Amongst those present were the Bishop of Rochester, the Earl and Countess of Essex, Viscount and Viscountess Malden, Lord Ebury, Lord Houghton, the Hon. H. Cowper, M.P.; Mr. Abel Smith, M.P., and Lady Susan Smith; Mr. E. Majoribanks and party; Mr. Vernon Harcourt, M.P.; Mr. H. E. C. Stapylton; Mr. H. J. Toulmin; Rev. Canon Gee, D.D., and Mrs. Gee; Mr. G. W. Lydekker, Mrs. Lydekker, and Miss Lydekker; the Rev. J. Lawrence, rector of St. Alban's, and Miss Lawrence; Mr. J. Arden; the Rev. B. Hutchinson, vicar of St. Michael's; Mr. W. H. Solly; Mr. E. Levien, M.A., F.S.A.; Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., and Mrs. Roberts; Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A.; Mr. G. M. Hills and Mrs. Hills; Mr. H. H. Burnell, F.S.A.; Mr. A. Goldsmid, F.S.A.; Rev. S. F. Cresswell, M.A.; Rev. C. B. Pearson, M.A., rector of Knebworth; Rev. O. W. Davys, M.A., rector of Wheathampstead; Mr. T. Wright, M.A., F.S.A.; Mr. C. K. Dyer and Mrs. Dyer; Rev. Dr. Williams, F.R.A.S.; Dr. J. T. N. Lipscomb and Mrs. Lipscomb; Mr. and Mrs. Previt ; Mr. G. G. Adams, F.S.A.; Mr. I. Whitman; Mr. G. F. Tenniswood, F.S.A.; Mr. W. H. Bateman and Mrs. Bateman; Mr. R. Fitch, F.S.A.; Mr. F. A. Waite, F.S.A., and Mrs. Waite; Mr. W. E. Allen; Mr. C. E. Grover; Mr. J. W. Grover; Mr. F. Hindmarsh, F.G.S.; Mr. S. Austin; Mr. and Mrs. Searancke; Rev. A. Gray; Rev. H. Smith, M.A., vicar of Christ Church, St. Alban's.

At a quarter past 12 o'clock the Mayor (Mr. W. Bradley), the Town Clerk (Mr. T. W. Blagg), entered in their robes of office, preceded by the mace-bearer, and accompanied by the following members of the Town Council: Aldermen Kent and Lipscomb, and Councillors Amsden, Hart, Martin, Syrett, Palin, Cherry, Gulston, and Wells.

The Mayor, in a few appropriate sentences, welcomed the members of the Association to the ancient town of St. Alban's, and the Town Clerk read the following address:

“TO THE PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

“We, the Mayor, Aldermen, and burgesses, of the borough of St. Alban’s beg to offer you a hearty welcome to our ancient borough, and to express our cordial thanks to the Association for having selected for their Congress of 1869 a neighbourhood which is so rich in historic interest and the abundance of relics of past ages.

“We are also gratified that your proceedings will be inaugurated and presided over by a distinguished nobleman of world-wide fame, of whom this country, through its whole length and breadth, is so justly proud.

“You need not to be reminded that our old town possesses many objects of deep interest to the archæologist. First and foremost stands our magnificent and venerable Abbey Church; our unique and ancient clock-tower, recently restored, known to have existed so far back as the time of Richard I; and the interesting remains of the old Roman city of Verulam. The surrounding neighbourhood alike presents numerous objects deeply interesting, and worthy your attention and researches, and which will doubtless occupy much of the time at your disposal.

“We, who live amongst these glorious remains, are too apt to regard but lightly the lessons they teach; and we, therefore, highly appreciate the value of the investigations of your learned and distinguished Association. We hope that the result of your present visit will not only be attended with pleasure to the members and visitors we have now the honour to welcome amongst us, but will add to the highly valuable and interesting fund of information already obtained, and at the same time tend to deepen our sense of the privilege we enjoy, in having continually before our eyes the magnificent architectural remains which tell of the greatness and grandeur of institutions which have long since passed away.

“(Signed) W. BRADLEY, Mayor.”

The Mayor then vacated the chair, and it was taken by the President, who immediately rose to deliver his inaugural address, which is printed at pp. 21-32 *ante*.

At the conclusion of the address a vote of thanks to the noble President, proposed by Lord Houghton, and seconded by the Bishop of Rochester, was carried by acclamation; and Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., Hon. Sec., read letters from Lord Bathurst, Lord Carnarvon, Lord Effingham, and others, expressing regret at their unavoidable absence.

The company then adjourned to luncheon in the Assembly Rooms; and after having partaken of the excellent fare there provided for them by Mr. Marks of the Peahen Hotel, they proceeded to the western entrance of the Abbey, and immediately commenced the examination of the church and other remains of the monastery, under the guidance of Mr. Gordon M. Hills, the Hon. Treasurer of the Association. Having taken the visitors to a spot, in the open air, whence they could survey the northern side of the Abbey, Mr. Hills asked them to observe the peculiar nature of the construction of the church; to take notice of

its vast proportions and length, and of the unusual circumstance that it was very largely constructed of brickwork ; and then made the following remarks : “The materials of which this Abbey is constructed give to it a character that no other church in the kingdom of its size possesses. At Brixworth, in Northamptonshire, there is a church largely constructed of the same material, for the same reasons. (See *Journal*, vol. xix, pp. 219-223, and pp. 285-305.) The tower, although covered with cement and plaster,—and, indeed, the whole church,—was formerly constructed entirely of brick. In ancient times there was an open square before the face of the Abbey gateway, which is still standing. Before we go inside I trust you will notice the singular appearance of the west end of the church, and its unfinished character. In passing in at the west door I must ask you to look at the very beautiful nature of the work in the porch. It is unusually elaborate,—perhaps more elaborate than anything else we shall find in the church.” Having taken up a position in the nave, Mr. Hills said : “The noble church in which we are now assembled connects the memory of the past with the present perhaps more than any other in this country. It was founded originally on the spot where the first martyr of Britain, St. Alban, suffered. The date is not exactly known ; but it may be said to be within a very few years, one way or the other, of the year 300 A.D., in the time of one of the persecutions under the Emperor Diocletian. As you know, the ancient city of Verulam stood on the opposite hill to this, and lying more westward of the Abbey. St. Alban was led out from one of the gates of that city, and decapitated on the neighbouring hill. On that hill was founded a church of which the first notice we have is when the Norman bishops, Germanus and Lupus, visited Britain for the purpose of putting down the Pelagian heresy, A.D. 430. They visited the church at Verulam, where St. Alban had been buried. The tomb of the martyr was opened, and some relics were placed in it. The next thing we know of the church is, as we learn from Bede, that the church visited by Germanus was standing in his time, about four hundred years after. In the year 796, Offa, king of Mercia, founded a monastery on the spot. It would appear that in the lapse of time the memorials of the church perished ; and it is said that Offa was miraculously guided to the spot where the bones of St. Alban had been placed. Upon finding them he erected a monastery. It is certain that from that time to the present there has been a church on this site. At another leap we come down nearly three hundred years, to the time immediately after the Norman conquest, when the monastery was found to be of insufficient size, and the first Norman abbot, Paul, began to build the new church, and in eleven years he finished it. That is the main part of the building now before our eyes, extending as far as the square pillar on this side, and nearly up

to the screen on that side. The church was consecrated in 1115. That which is particularly interesting about this building is not only its very great age, but also that it is constructed of fragments of buildings which had themselves fallen to ruin. Abbot Paul ransacked the ancient city of Verulam, and brought away a great quantity of materials, which you may now see in the walls of the church. The Roman brick is more distinct outside. The whole of it was composed of Roman brick, and very little else; in some parts, of absolutely nothing else. Even where the brickwork does not appear, there are flint and rubble brought from the Roman walls. It had long been intended to erect this church, and the Saxon abbots before Paul had collected materials from the ruins of the ancient city; but a time of famine and distress came on; the materials were sold, and the proceeds distributed to the poor. In the time of John de Cella (about 1200) it was proposed to improve the structure; and the work was begun in the nave, extending westward. This well-meaning abbot was held in great reverence and great esteem in his own time; but he seemed to have no idea whatever of what would be the cost of taking down and rebuilding the west front of the church. After collecting money by all the means in his power, he was obliged to stay his hand for want of funds. For something like twenty years the work remained almost in abeyance. In 1215 William of Trumpington took the rule, and put a pressure on the work. He completed four arches on the north side of the west end of the church, and five arches on the south side. There had been a wonderful change in the fashion of architecture between the time of Abbot Paul (1100) and the time of Abbot Trumpington (1215). It had changed from the rude form of Norman work to the beautiful work of Abbot Trumpington. The reason for the rudeness of this work was that the bricks being taken from the old city, he was unable to mould them into the more graceful forms of the later work, of which the material was Tottenhoe stone. If you will allow me I will show you some very curious marks by which you will see that the work was originally intended to be still richer; but owing to the difficulty in raising money, an inferior style was resorted to. It is a curious thing that in all parts of this church the work was begun in a very elaborate style, and then sank into something less rich. I wish to call your attention to the bases of columns on the north side, which represent the bases of four sets of piers carrying arches which opened into what is called the chapel of St. Andrew; which was, in fact, the parish church down to the time of the suppression of the monastery. When the monastery was suppressed the inhabitants purchased this great church, and pulled down the church of St. Andrew. This church had three altars, and seems to have been a church of three aisles. I am told by a gentleman who has seen the ruins which were dug out of the foundations, that it



seems to have been a large structure on the north side of the Abbey. The chancel must have come as far as this column. I will just call your attention to the seven marble shafts round those comparatively simple piers. They contented themselves with carrying the shafts no higher than the base, and finished the work in a more simple form."

Mr. Hills proceeded to point out the site of the arch of the chancel of St. Andrew's church, and said: "The church contained three altars, the central one dedicated to St. Nicholas. It is believed that the arch on the south side led to a tower, and that a western tower was intended there. We can hardly say what was intended; but I can tell you what it led to. It led to a room called the outer parlour, where the guests of the monastery were first received, and their business and objects learned. This room was an apartment of the abbot's house. This door led to the side of the church from the abbot's chapel. You may look at the plans, and I will endeavour to give you an idea of the monastic buildings, of which, I am sorry to say, there is very little left above ground. You will remember that the disposition of one monastery under Benedictine rule was very much like that of another under the same rule. Certain rules and regulations had to be carried out, and the buildings were constructed in such a form as to enable the inmates to conform to them. The cloister was constructed on the south side of the church, immediately adjacent to the abbot's house. We shall see very considerable remains of that cloister by and by, towards the end of our peregrinations, against the wall of the church, underneath the windows. The cloister formed a quadrangle; one, the main wing of the Abbey; and that one wing was devoted to the service of the monks themselves. It was the ecclesiastical part of the house. The long wing extended from the transept, and must have contained the chapter house. We shall see a beautiful little passage-way between the cloister house and the transept of the church. Of the chapter house we shall see nothing. There was the monk's parlour or day-room, and over that the dormitory. We shall see the door by which they descended into the church from the dormitory, for the performance of midnight services. Here was the refectory, and here the abbot's house, which contained a very magnificent apartment wholly and specially for the use of the king, and another for the queen. The abbot had his own private chamber, hall, chapel, and two or three other apartments. Besides all these, extending further was a wing leading from the abbot's house (the monk's wing); and near the end was the kitchen, a very large establishment. Behind was the court of the monastery, round which were the brewery, bakehouse, and inferior offices; and the stables, which at one time received no fewer than three hundred and eighty horses belonging to the guests. This shows the vast extent to which the hospitality of the monastery was carried. On the north side of the

of Abbot Paul. In the thirteenth century considerable alterations were made, of which a full account is extant. A timber spire was subsequently put upon the tower, and was entirely swept away; and the tower was reduced again to its Norman form. It is not very often you see a Norman tower so elevated as this, and in so good a condition. You will notice the doors in the lower part on that side. Originally there had been two open arches there, leading to two small chapels, and there was another chapel on the north side,—three chapels exactly of the same kind. In the fourteenth century the chapels on this side were taken down, and two larger chapels built outside, retaining their dedication. The further one was dedicated to St. Stephen, and the nearer one to St. John. That one, however, was not used as a chapel quite down to the end of monastic times. It came to be used as a vestry, and was separated from the church by a brick wall. In 1440 it was a chapel, but I cannot say when it became a vestry. There is a small archway in the south transept; and I would call the attention of those who go there to the very elaborate Norman work in the small passage which led across the end of the transept from the cloister to the burial-ground of the monks. There were two chapels adjoining the transept on the south side of the choir. The archway on that side has a very modern aspect. It has been done up in modern times. The staircase led into the chapter house and dormitory of the monks. The two pointed windows were very like those down the north aisle of the church.”

Mr. Hills then referred to the Roman materials used in the construction of the church, and said there were some very peculiar Roman tiles in the building, and some flue-tiles, and continued:—“I may here mention a curious circumstance. In examining the Roman tiles in the upper part of the tower, I found some with those curious marks upon them which are very often found in Roman tiles,—the impression of a dog’s foot. The tiles were laid out to dry, and the dogs, with which the country abounded at that time, ran over them, and you have impressions made by the feet of dogs some fourteen hundred years ago or more. I also found on a tile in the tower a very deep impression of a pig’s foot, the impression of a cat’s foot, and then of the claws of a bird.”

Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., Hon. Sec., said: “I wish to express my gratification at hearing Mr. Hills speak of the Norman construction of this church, because on a recent occasion, when another Society visited the Abbey, it was distinctly asserted by a gentleman who gave a history of the church, that the greater part of the fabric was of Saxon construction. He did not mean to say it was Offa’s church; but said it was of very early construction, prior to the Norman period. In the course of the lecture he walked into the lower part of the church, and

I understand that during my absence he challenged those who knew anything about it to contradict his assertion. I am very pleased to have the contradiction made by Mr. Hills, who comes to the same conclusion which everybody who really knows the subject would come to. The assumption that because some of the balusters and shafts are of Saxon work, therefore the church is Saxon, is as idle as could possibly be."

After listening for a few minutes to the great organ, upon which Mr. Booth, the organist, kindly performed, the company proceeded to the choir of the church. Here Mr. Hills, referring to the numerous altars which once stood in the church, said: "Whatever we may think of the use of altars in these days, they were in olden times regarded with the greatest reverence, and decorated with the utmost splendour. They were, in fact, looked upon as so many gates to Heaven, and people gathered before them to offer their prayers with devoutness and solemnity; and in our own day something like one half of Christendom regard them in the same light. We have now arrived at the place where the high altar stood. This is a beautiful and elaborate screen, erected about the middle of the fifteenth century. It is very different now from its original state. The shrine of St. Alban, when first constructed, was so placed that it could be seen over the screen; and we are expressly told it was raised so high, that when the priest stood against the altar he could see the shrine, and that it could be seen from the whole of the choir. Round the choir was ranged a glorious set of stalls of tabernacle-work, to make room for which the columns were rudely cut away. The tabernacle-work at that time concealed what had been done, so that it was not the disfigurement it is now. Something of the same kind, for a similar reason, was done in the transepts. A very elaborately carved beam was carried across the church, with a representation of the crucifixion upon it. Abbot Trumpington removed it to the south transept, and cut away the pier in order to place it across the arch. He also erected a very elaborate new one to go at the end of the nave. You may conceive the very glorious condition of the church at that time. There is a singular circumstance about the construction of this part of the church. We find it was invariably the custom to have the aisles opening to the choir by arches, and the same with the nave; but this church was not so constructed. It had a solid wall on each side, between the aisles; and Abbot Trumpington caused these arches to be inserted to relieve the plainness of the work. Having made up his mind to enlarge the church, he built a new east end. The work went on without interrupting the services of the church; and we are expressly told that when the new east end was brought into use, the shrine of St. Alban was removed; but we are not informed where it was removed to. The ancient shrine must have stood where the

nave you will see a remarkable painting of the crucifixion upon each pillar. I am not able to tell you what the exact object of these paintings was. I quite believe there must have been altars placed against those piers. We have a description of the altars in this church about the date 1440, in which no mention is made of there having been altars there ; so that if altars were placed there, it was after the year 1440 ; and yet the rude character of the paintings proves that they must have been executed at least one hundred years before that. In the year 1323 a great multitude assembled in this church, attending a mass of the Virgin Mary, when suddenly a loud noise was heard. Two of the old columns of the south side of the nave fell, and pushed over the south wall of the church along with them. This led to the construction of those five arches,—a different kind of work from those of Abbot Trumpington on the south side, and Abbot Paul on the north. The screen there, which is commonly called St. Cuthbert's screen, does not show very clearly the purpose for which it was constructed. In the middle there seems to be a place for an altar, and there was the reredos. There was another very elaborate altar to the left, and there was also an altar to the right. I do not know how it has arisen, but the dedication of that altar is always improperly stated. We are popularly told that it was the altar of St. Cuthbert ; but we have the best possible reason for knowing it was not, because his altar stood on the further side of the cloister, in the chapel, of which we have a very distinct history extending over four hundred years, showing it could not have been in the church. In the centre of the screen there was an altar dedicated, after the rebuilding of these parts, to the holy cross ; and one on the south side, dedicated to St. Mary, which was called in after time the altar of St. Mary de Columnâ. On the north side was the altar of St. Benedict, with which were associated the relics of St. Oswin, and therefore dedicated to St. Oswin and St. Benedict. You will see the door which led to the abbot's chapel, and a curious recess in the wall, which was the place of burial of Roger the hermit of Markyate Cell, and Sigar the hermit. There never was an altar there. Roger died in the twelfth century, and Sigar shortly after Roger's death. The present construction is distinctly of the thirteenth century. I wish to call your attention to the difference between the construction of the arches in Abbot Trumpington's time and subsequent period. In his time the mouldings were deep and bold ; afterwards the fashion changed, and they were less deep, and not so good. Traceried windows were introduced, which were evidently meant to agree with those of Abbot Trumpington, but were much inferior to them in beauty. This attempt to imitate older work was very seldom made in mediæval times. There is an example, however, in the nave of Westminster Abbey, in which the work of an earlier age is copied exactly. These

columns (on the south side of the nave) were erected in the reign of Edward III. The heads of the king and queen are very distinct, and the head of the bishop of the diocese. There you have the royal arms of England and the royal arms of France. The next shield is supposed by many to contain the arms of Offa, king of Mercia; but in his time armorial bearings were not invented, and we do not find them displayed before the year 1215. The abbot who constructed this part of the church was prior of Tynemouth, the principal cell of this monastery. I am inclined to think they are the coat of arms of the cell of Tynemouth. There is a coat of arms said to be that of Edward the Confessor; but really there were no armorial bearings in his day. When they came into fashion, however, they invented them for people of former ages who never had them. This was the doorway by which the monks of the convent entered the church from the east walk of the cloister, which led directly from it to their day-room towards the refectory. It was inserted in the fifteenth century. Their entrance had not always been there. From the time of the earliest abbots until quite late they entered by another doorway made before the year 1430, and mentioned in the list of tombs as adjoining the tomb of Roger and Sigar."

The party then proceeded to the east end of the baptistery, and Mr. Hills continued:—"We are now assembled in that part of the church where we see more of its original work than in any other. I will not say we see more of its original condition, for its present condition is deplorably shabby compared to what it was in those days. If you look across the transepts you will see they display the very simplest characteristics and very simplest form of Norman work. I should have been rejoiced, indeed, if I could have found in this building traces of an earlier church,—the church of Offa, for instance. There are, however, stones of forms very unlike those adopted in Norman work; and there is great reason to suppose they belonged to the earlier church, though we cannot, of course, positively say they were part of Offa's church. In the arches of the triforium, in both transepts, you will see the columns very curiously banded. Those banded columns are really complete in themselves, without the large cushion capital, which is totally separate. The bases are separate from the Norman bases, and the columns are of the tube-shape form which you very often find in Saxon work. I think they are parts of the Saxon building, and were used by Abbot Paul when he constructed the choir of the present church. It seems highly probable that when he pulled down the old church, he used part of its materials in the erection of the new building. I will not say positively. They cannot be identified as part of Offa's church; but it is extremely likely they were. The columns in each transept, and the belfry and the tower, are the work

present high altar is. In passing out you will notice the tomb of Abbot Wheathampstead, who came to rule the monastery about the year 1420, and within ten years caused this tomb to be constructed as the place of his sepulture; but he did not die till nearly thirty years after. He was a great and good man. After ruling the monastery many years he began to think himself incapable of continuing to do so, and probably foreseeing the very troublous times that were coming on, and thinking himself getting old and infirm, he resigned his office, and another abbot was appointed. After some years this abbot died; and so highly was John of Wheathampstead held in the esteem of the monks, that he was again elected to rule the abbacy. We can hardly have a higher testimony to his excellence and worth than this fact affords. I am afraid there are very few of us at the present day who perform our duties so perfectly as to feel entitled to such a compliment as that.

“The roof,” Mr. Hills said, “is believed to have been painted by Abbot Wheathampstead. The symbols of St. John the Baptist (the lamb and flag) and of St. John (the eagle), his two patron saints, are represented in the panels. Not being a herald, I cannot say whose arms are on the shields; but they are used to conceal the junction of the wood with the stone vaulting in the roof. The tomb on the left is that of Abbot Ramryge (one of the last of the abbots), and is a splendid structure. You notice that the central part of the altar-screen has been cut away and disfigured. I have no doubt it was cut away by one of the later abbots, in order to place there a picture he had bought. The work of the screen over the altar is of a very elaborate character; indeed, it would be difficult to find more elaborate and beautiful work, and when the niches were filled with statues and decorated with gold and colour, as they were originally, it must have presented a splendid appearance.”

The party then proceeded to the saint's chapel, where Mr. Hills addressed them as follows: “Nearly in the centre of the place in which we are now assembled are marks in the floor which you will easily recognise as the place where the shrine of St. Alban formerly stood. You will notice the marks showing where the feet of the columns carrying a canopy over the shrine rested. I will here say a few words on the history of the relics of St. Alban, which gave such extraordinary interest to this monastery. I hope to speak with due regard to the feelings of others; but the fact is, that most of us have come to the conclusion that the relics of St. Alban really never were deposited here. The case is very different from that of the great monastery of Durham, where the monks no doubt did retain the body of St. Cuthbert, carrying it with them to various places before this particular monastery was founded. They retained it during the Reformation; and it

was buried by order of the commissioners who visited the monastery at the dissolution. It was found, in the year 1827, under circumstances which leave no doubt that it was the body of St. Cuthbert; and it remains there to this day. Not so the relics of St. Alban. It was believed that Bishops Germanus and Lupus did see these relics; that they opened the tomb, inspected them, and then placed others with them. Between this time and that of Bede it is perfectly clear the place of their deposit was lost sight of, because it was revealed to Offa, king of Mercia, under miraculous circumstances. A supernatural light appeared, which pointed to a spot where bones were found, which were believed to be the relics of the saint. During the rule of one of the Saxon abbots the country was overrun by the Danes. The Danes set a great value on these supposed relics, and carried them away into Denmark. They were recovered for this monastery in a very singular fashion. One Edwin, a monk, and sacristan, undertook to recover them. He left the monastery, and went into Denmark, representing that he had been drawn there by the wide-spread fame of the salutary effects of these relics; and had come, as a humble petitioner, to be admitted to the monastery. He behaved himself so well outside the monastery for a year, and so much ingratiated himself with the monks, that he became sacristan. Having then charge of the relics of the monastery, he committed an act of what we should now think very doubtful morality. While ostensibly engaged in his devotions he employed himself in making a hole in the bottom of the shrine, from which he extracted the remains. Having packed them in a chest, he got a merchant to undertake to deliver the chest, sealed with his seal, to the abbot of St. Alban's. In that way the relics were brought here again. Some time after that another invasion of the Danes was threatened, but did not take place. The monks, however, were alarmed for their treasure, and another singular piece of deception was practised. The abbot of that time took the relics out of the shrine, made a hole in the wall, under the altar of St. Nicholas, in the detached chapel outside the building, and there buried the relics. With a view of misleading his enemies he packed the bones of a monk in a box, and sent them to the monks of Ely with instructions to specially guard them. This led to a very curious dispute. When the abbot wanted the bones of the monk back again, the monks of Ely, believing they had got the real relics of St. Alban, would not part with them, and detained them for a great many years, regarding them with deep reverence. In the course of a hundred years the real relics were taken out and replaced in the church; and the Pope authorised an inquiry, by which it was shown that these were the real relics, and that a pious fraud had been practised on the monks of Ely. The actual possession of these relics being afterwards thought doubtful, the tomb was opened about the year

1200; and it is stated that the skeleton was found complete and perfect, with the exception of one shoulder-blade. Some years before, two canons came from the south, beyond the seas, to this country, and stated they possessed the shoulder-blade of St. Alban, which had been presented to them by Canute, king of England, who had obtained it from the monks of St. Alban's. In the year 1256 Matthew Paris, a most trustworthy witness, tells us that the monks succeeded in founding some pillars in this part of the church, and came upon the actual tomb of St. Alban, which they replaced carefully. This tomb was found to contain an inscription recording that it had been the tomb of St. Alban. Whether it was, or was not, is a doubtful matter. It was regarded, apparently from ancient times, as the tomb of the saint; and seeing that this church was believed to possess the relics of St. Alban, it is curious that a church in Germany was also supposed to possess them. The circumstance arose in this way. When Germanus and Lupus visited this country they were reported to have carried away with them some relics from the tomb of St. Alban. It is almost universally represented by English and foreign writers that they carried away the bones or relics (variously stated) of the saint. The story, as made out (not very clearly) by the late rector of St. Alban's, Dr. Nicholson, is this,—about the year 429 Germanus carried away some relics from here, but history is entirely silent regarding them. The foreign church historians record that these relics were carried by him to Ravenna, and were afterwards removed to Rome, whence they considered them to have been transferred to Cologne, and placed in the Abbey of St. Pantaleon, about the year 980, by Theophania, wife of the Emperor Otho II. They remained in that church, in a shrine of a very elaborate character, at least six hundred years. An old inscription recording that the church contained the relics of St. Alban remained there until a very few years ago; and Dr. Nicholson himself saw the remains of the shrine in which this church at Cologne claims even now to have had possession of the relics of St. Alban.

“ Besides the shrine of St. Alban there was another elaborate shrine containing some relics brought by Germanus. It stood under the arch on that side, and contained the relics of St. Wulstan. Behind the archway was the shrine of St. Amphibolus, whose remains were discovered at Redbourn early in the thirteenth century. This saint was supposed to have been the instructor of St. Alban in Christianity. His bones, after remaining nearly a thousand years undiscovered, were miraculously revealed, and brought here and placed in a shrine.

“ I now wish to call your attention to a very splendid monument erected in late times to the memory of the great Humphrey Duke of Gloucester; and his tomb. It was long believed that Humphrey was buried in London. This tomb was built by Abbot Wheathampstead



about a year before his death. In 1772 the remains of Duke Humphrey were discovered underneath that tomb. The monument is a very elaborate one. On the other side of the chapel there is what appears to have been a set of closets for articles belonging to the shrine,—precious gifts which had been presented; and above is the watch-chamber for the custodian. The whole is an admirable specimen of wood-work. The tabernacle-work just above the canopies of the columns is worthy your attention. On the north side of the wall there was an altar to St. Michael and all angels; and on the south side an altar to St. Mary, before which four tapers were kept burning. On each side of the church there was a doorway; and on the outside was an altar to St. Catherine. This led to the Lady Chapel, where we will now proceed.”

On arriving at the ante-chapel Mr. Hills said:—“We are now assembled in the ante-chapel to the chapel of the Virgin. During the twelfth century there was a great change made in the method of celebrating the services of the Virgin Mary, which led almost everywhere to the construction of much more splendid chapels dedicated to her. The old chapel was where I told you the ‘altar of the four tapers’ stood, and Abbot Trumpington began the more elaborate and stately structure. To reach this place we have passed along what is now a public thoroughfare, and which we cannot but regard as a terrible desecration. I am sure there are none present who will not heartily join in the desire expressed by the Bishop of Rochester, to see it removed, and this chapel connected again, in proper form, with the church to which it originally belonged. It is said the thoroughfare through it is a great public convenience, and that it is almost impossible it can be given up. I sincerely hope it will be proved to be no impossibility at all. When we hear of a project for making a tunnel under the Channel from Dover to Calais, it does not seem to be a very difficult thing to make a tunnel under that passage for the use of the public. In this ante-chapel there were formerly two altars; one on the north side being dedicated to St. Edmund, and on the south side to St. Peter the apostle. The chapel was begun by Abbot Trumpington, and was nearly one hundred years in progress, there being so much difficulty in raising the funds. Part of the structure appears to have never been finished. That aisle was vaulted with wood, and I suppose the other one may have been also vaulted. The faces of the columns unquestionably show it was intended to have a vault, but was never vaulted. Part of the chapel is now very difficult to make out. I cannot say whether it had columns in the middle. I am a little inclined to think it had two pier-columns to carry the vaulting. The arch at that end was much wider than the arch at this, and it seems difficult to see how the columns kept them in the proper position. The work begun by Abbot Trumpington was completed by Hugh de Eversden a century later.”

The company then passed into the Lady Chapel, which Mr. Hills said was one of the loveliest pieces of architecture they had ever seen. "The windows," continued Mr. Hills, "are elaborate almost beyond description, and are decorated with numerous little statues. Considering that this building has been used as a boys' school-room for four hundred years, we may congratulate ourselves that so many of these statuettes remain almost uninjured. Abbot Trumpington, who did so much for the monastery, carried up the walls some five feet above the ground, and from that point they were finished by Hugh Eversden. This was the last great work executed in connexion with the Abbey.

"In the windows, we see the work of Eversden, and the ornaments are such as were very characteristic of the fourteenth century, just about the year 1300. There are some slight remains of Abbot Trumpington's work. Two arches of his work are left. The same Abbot placed the vaulting which has been plastered over. We are expressly told that he constructed a projection from the side of the Lady Chapel. In it he placed the altar offerings, and a picture over it of "The Salvation." In this vestry, there was a hagioscope through which the attendant might observe the light which was constantly kept burning before the altar. There are, I see, some remains of a very elaborate oaken screen; I hope, whenever the inhabitants of St. Albans have the good fortune to clear out the archway, they will be careful how they demolish that partition, for inside there are the remains of this very elaborate screen. There are several pieces behind, and a horizontal strip outside. You will all of you be glad to hear that steps are in progress for the removal of the school from the Lady Chapel. I can only say as an archaeologist, I shall be very grateful to find that is accomplished. We shall pass along the south side of the Abbey, where the domestic buildings were situate, and in Mr. Darant's garden we shall view the remains of the cloister. From there we shall go to the Abbey gate, which was built quite in the later time of Monastery; the old one having been blown down in a violent wind. The Abbot of St. Alban's was a great lord, and ruled the whole liberty of St. Alban's. The gateway was the place where the Courts of the Abbey were held, and was also used as a prison. As a prison, it has been used down to this moment. The gate-house has been disfigured greatly by modern additions, which are now rapidly disappearing, and very shortly it will present almost its original appearance. The building will soon be applied to the very excellent and useful purposes of the grammar school, which is to be removed to it. We may well wish the school prosperity in its new home. There was the ancient school of monastery, and when the monks could no longer maintain it, it was granted for the use of a grammar school. Now the grammar school is going back to the Gatehouse. In Mr. Darant's garden you

will see the tracery works of the arches of the cloister on that side attached to the church. One side of the cloister (which formed a quadrangle) was against the nave of the church, the second side was against the transept, extending to where the modern brick wall is. You will see several arches attached to the transept, and the site of the day room and dormitory of the monks. In that brick structure is a curious little passage-way leading to the cemetery of the monks. We have crossed it in coming here from the Lady Chapel. Just in the passage there was the chapter house. Amongst those mounds, where the trees are, there stood east and west the refectory, and there was the guest hall. Towards the corner stood the King's hall and the chapel attached to it. Between that and the church extended the prior's house and various apartments. The apartments for the guests were very numerous and are very fully described. The outside court of the monastery was devoted to the inferior offices."

On reaching the Abbey gateway, Mr. Hills said, "This was the vaulted entrance to the court of the abbey. The original gateway was blown down in a storm, and was rebuilt by Thomas Dollimore, who was Abbot from 1349 to 1396. It is a very magnificent work of the period; those who choose to look over the gateway can ascend the turret stair. You will find on the ground floor two curious vaulted apartments. This stair will also lead you to rooms which were lately used for the purposes of a gaol. You will find a large apartment over the gateway. The original room has been divided into two rooms; those who prefer it can go to Mr. Blagg's garden, where they will get a good view of the east end of the Abbey."

Mr. AUGUSTUS GOLDSMID, F.S.A., said he had lately been travelling in Transylvania, and there appeared to him to be some curious resemblances between the exterior of some of the churches in the German parts of Transylvania, and St. Alban's Abbey. The great extent of the wall and the arches with long buttresses in those churches were like those in part of the north transept of the Abbey, and arose very much from the same cause, as they were built from the remains of Roman basilicas and other buildings. There was another point of resemblance. These walls and buttresses had square towers which were generally crenellated, and being fortified places were used as places of refuge by inhabitants, who hid themselves there to escape the ravages of the Croats and the Turks. It struck him that part of the abbey might have been used at an early period as a fortified building for defensive purposes.

Mr. Hills continued, "This building in early times was surrounded only by an earthen wall, and was found to be so weak for the purposes of defence against neighbours, that one of the Abbots obtained a license to build a crenellated wall round the abbey. Even then a

large portion of the earthen wall remained. Still the Abbey was capable of very considerable defence, for we know it was violently attacked by rioters more than once, who attempted to force an entrance from Holywell, but were repulsed with great resolution by the monks and their servants. I may mention, as showing the feelings of the inhabitants, that they did not attempt to effect an entrance by the church. The rioters had no wish to injure the church, but their anger was directed against the monks."

Mr. Goldsmid asked whether there had been at any time, when the church was being restored, or repaired, any trace of the earlier part having served as a fortification?

Mr. Hills replied that not the slightest indication of the church having ever been fortified appeared in any part of it.

The next and last place visited was the beautiful garden of Mr. Blagg, from which a good view of the east end of the monastery is obtained.

At 7 o'clock the members and their friends sat down to dinner in the Assembly Room, the President (Lord Lytton) in the chair; Mr. Blagg, the Town Clerk, occupying the vice-chair.

After the cloth had been removed, the President, in proposing the toast of the "Queen," said that Her Majesty claimed a descent from Cedric the Saxon; and in proposing the toast of "The Prince and Princess of Wales and the rest of the Royal Family," he remarked that in their Royal Highnesses the Saxons and Danes were once more united.

The President then gave "The Army, Navy, and Volunteers."

Ensign Searancke, of the Rifle Volunteers, acknowledged the toast.

Mr. Edward Roberts proposed "The Bishop and Clergy of the Diocese." He said the clergy were the conservators of what was most dear to the archæologist, and were always ready to render him every assistance in his researches. He coupled with the toast the name of the Rector of St. Alban's.

The Rev. J. Lawrence, in responding, remarked that as the successor of the abbots of St. Alban's, he was wofully shorn of his authority, and the emoluments of what was called the "living" had shrunk almost to the wages of the artisan. While he could not venture to predict the recovery of the emoluments which once belonged to the Abbey, he ventured to hope and predict that that building, of which he was for the time the custodian, would undergo a restoration to some of its former beauty, if not to some of its former grandeur. He trusted the visitors whom they had welcomed to-day would carry away with them many agreeable memories, and would leave behind, in his hands, some material guarantee of their interest in the Abbey of St. Alban.

Mr. Blagg proposed "Success to the British Archæological Association."

Mr. Hills, in acknowledging the toast, said that their reception in

St. Alban's was at least equal to that they had received in any other place. The Society had been established for a quarter of a century ; and since its commencement a great number of archæological associations had been founded in different parts of the country, so that now there was hardly any town of note which had not a society of this kind. St. Alban's was decidedly a country town, though so near the metropolis ; and the Rector had displayed a rustic simplicity in supposing the Association would leave a large donation behind them. The sums collected by them were spent in the production of their annual volumes at a cost of about £550 a year, and these volumes formed a permanent record of their meetings and excursions.

The President, in proposing the toast of "The Mayor and Corporation," thanked them for the handsome manner in which they had welcomed the Association, and for the care they had taken in providing for their comfortable reception.

Mr. G. W. Lydekker, in proposing the health of the President, remarked that to the next generation Knebworth would be a place of as much historical interest as Abbotsford is to us. He regretted that his Lordship had not as yet selected Hertfordshire as the scene of one of his fictions,—an omission which he hoped would yet be repaired.

Lord Lytton, in returning thanks, said that he was at a loss for words adequately to express his sense of the kindness with which they had received the toast. There had been times when he had entered the town of St. Alban's as a candidate in contested elections, and he had entered it with the feeling that about half the inhabitants were his political opponents. It was a great satisfaction to him to know that he could now come here without feeling that he had a single foe amongst them. He was more assured in that cheerful belief when he heard the speech, so infinitely flattering beyond his deserts, of his old friend, Mr. Lydekker. He was at a loss to think how he could express his gratitude, when it suddenly occurred to him that the next toast was that of "The Ladies." To that toast was affixed the name of Mr. George R. Wright. Mr. Thomas Wright, who had been his guest for the last two days at Knebworth, had brought with him a proof-sheet of a work of his now in the press, entitled *Womankind* ; a book which showed the strong influence the "weaker" sex exercised over the men. He could not too gratefully acknowledge the gentle and mild manner in which they wielded that empire ; and Mr. George Wright, who had no doubt also devoted much time and attention to the subject, was well qualified to propose the toast ; which would be responded to by Mr. Blagg, who, from his great knowledge of the town, might describe how deservedly and properly the ladies in that place exercised their influence.

The toast of "The Ladies" having accordingly been proposed by Mr. G. R. Wright, and responded to by Mr. Blagg, the company separated for the evening.

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### ON EARLY TETINÆ.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A.-SCOT., V.P.

THE drinking cups designed for adults' banquets so frequently engage the attention of the archæologist, that he rarely thinks that human nature in its entrance on this world's stage could need other vessels than those which an all-wise and munificent Creator provides in the maternal breasts. Let us then, for once, turn our eyes from the wine-goblet to the lacteal bottle, from the festive board to "the infant mewling and puking in its nurse's arms."

Fosbroke (*Encyclopædia of Antiquities*, s. v. "Nursing") says that "among the Greeks the nurses, during the time of sucking, etc., used to carry the children out to air, having with them a sponge full of honey, in a small pot, to stop crying." In our own time figs and raisins tied up in a piece of muslin, take the place of the classic sponge and honey; but in neither case can the contrivances be regarded as aught than frauds practised on helpless bantlings, and in no degree supplying the place of that precious nutriment designed by Providence for their sustenance. But none can doubt that in ancient as in modern days there were many instances in which hand-feeding was forced to take the place of the breast; and the question is, how was that hand-feeding effected? In this country and abroad many antique vessels of terra-cotta have been discovered, which were formerly regarded as oil-cruses for the service of lamps: but which are now accepted as infants' feeding bottles, upon which the

title of *tetinæ* has been bestowed. These vessels are of a type which can be traced back to a far remote era, as may be proved by a visit to the British Museum, where, among the Greek fictile vases dating from about B.C. 700 to B.C. 500, are two specimens bearing close resemblance in form to the *tetinæ* of the Roman period. The handle of one reaches from the tubular neck to the upper part of the globose body, and has near its top and bottom a little circle, possibly for the passage of a cord by which the vessel might be hung round the nurse's neck, to prevent its falling to the ground should it slip from her hand. On the opposite side to this *ansa* rises a thin conical spout. The second specimen in the national collection has its mouth protected by a strainer with six perforations, and the spout and handle are set at right angles to each other.

In the month of February, 1809, there was exhumed at Agrigentum, in Sicily, a singular terra-cotta vessel representing a couchant cow, with a tubular neck or funnel with expanded mouth rising from the middle of the back; having a loop-handle on the right side of the body, and a pipe-formed spout at the rump. The bovine shape of this rare object may, perhaps, in some measure favour the idea that it was intended to contain milk; and the spout at the posterior is exactly like the sucking tubes of the Roman *tetinæ* discovered in England, France, and the Rhine countries. A delineation of this interesting utensil is copied in Plate 8, fig. 1, from Ackerman's *Repository of Arts*, ii, Pl. 23.

Passing from these archaic *tetinæ* of Tyrrheno-Phœnician ware, we come next to a group of Romano-Germanic vessels, for the exhibition of which our thanks are due to Mr. Cato. Two of these specimens are rather globose in form, with wide mouths, and made without handles: one, nearly 3 ins. in height, being wrought of greyish terra-cotta; the other, full 3 ins. in height, is of a fawnish tint, the lip and shoulder coloured reddish brown by means of peroxide of iron. (See Plate 8, fig. 2.) In striking contrast with these squat *tetinæ* are two discovered in graves near Cologne in 1867. The largest,  $4\frac{1}{8}$  ins. high, is of really elegant contour; the body decorated with two narrow bands of simple pattern, and the whole exterior surface covered with a red coating somewhat like that on Samian ware. (See Pl. 8, fig. 3.) The second example, about  $3\frac{3}{8}$  ins. in height, is far inferior in design and



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



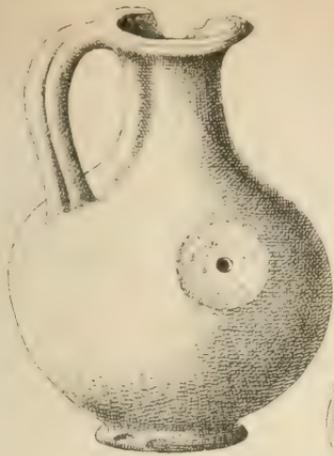


Fig 1



Fig 2

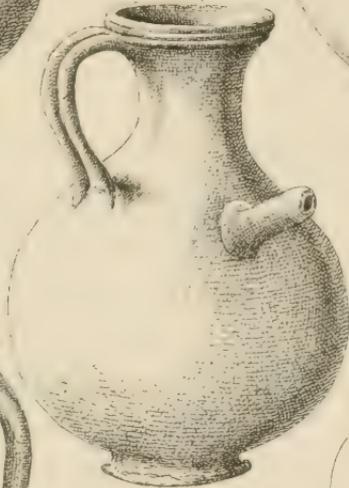


Fig 3



Fig 4

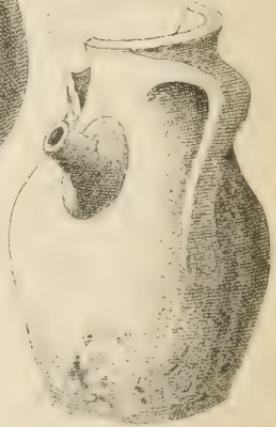


Fig 5



Fig 6



fabric to the foregoing, and is of fawn coloured terra-cotta, with the upper half and reeded handle of the deep chocolate-brown hue so familiar to us on our Durobrivian pottery, produced by the application of peroxide of iron. (See Pl. 8, fig. 4.) All these Germanic *tetinae* are well fired, and do credit to the hands engaged in their manufacture.

Having glanced at the *tetinae* discovered in foreign countries, let us now survey some examples brought to light in England, beginning with those of Kent. Among a considerable variety of Roman *ficilia* exhumed at Shorne in 1848 was a *tetina* which, though unfortunately broken about the neck, still retains its little sucking tube jutting from the globose body. (See *Journal*, iv, 406.) A perfect vessel of the same kind, but of rather more graceful contour, was met with in 1861, in the Roman cemetery, St. Sepulchre, Canterbury, with many other fictile remains. Mr. John Brent, speaking of this "find" and the *tetina* in question, says:—"The most interesting relic, perhaps, of the whole collection was a little vessel of bright, polished, red ware; in form rare, if not unique; deposited, perhaps, to accompany some child to whom, when living, it was the means of administering nutriment. Its height was  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ins. The handle is at quarter distance from the spout, the bore of which is so small that the orifice would not admit more than an ordinary sized knitting needle."<sup>1</sup> Mr. Cato has furnished me with a *tetina* found in the grave of a child in the Isle of Thanet, in which the bore of the sucking tube is so small that it will scarcely admit a No. 7 needle. This vessel is of grey terra-cotta, 4 ins. in height; and, like some of the German specimens, unprovided with a handle.

*Tetinae* very similar to those of Kent have been exhumed at Stonham and other parts of Suffolk, and also in Yorkshire; and we have now to record the finding of two such vessels in Lancashire, on the site of the Roman station at Wilderspool, near Warrington, the presumed *Condate* of the second and tenth *itineræ* of Antoninus.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Kendrick recovered

<sup>1</sup> See *Archæologia Cantiana*, iv, 27, fig. 15.

<sup>2</sup> The *tetina* for the left hand contains mould in which are mingled a very few minute fragments of calcined bone, which have given rise to the idea that the vessel may have held the remains of the infant it once aided to support; but it is questionable if the bodies of very young children were subjected to cremation. Pliny (vii, 16) says that it was the custom of most nations *not* to burn the bodies of children who died before they had cut their teeth.



both these specimens with his own hands, from an interment, Aug. 18, 1869; and this gentleman's liberality enables us to give representations of them in Plate 9, figs. 1 and 2. They are, like most English examples, of red terra-cotta, their mouths being of the same expanded or trumpet-shape as the one on the back of the Girgenti cow. The loop-handles spring from the edges of the mouths, and rest on the upper part of the globose bodies, at right angles to the spouts, and in opposite directions; as if one vessel was to be held in the right, the other in the left hand of some ambidextrous *nutrix* whilst feeding two infants in her lap at the same time. Though these *tetinæ* cannot be called an exact pair, the height of both may be given as  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ins.

*Tetinæ* of like form to those found in the provinces have been unearthed in London, most of them being of fine reddish coloured paste, though some are of a greyish hue, the produce of smother-kilns. I am indebted to my friend Mr. Cato for the opportunity of bringing to your notice one of the finest metropolitan *tetinæ* yet met with, and which was exhumed Nov. 2, 1865, on the site of the New Market, Smithfield. It is an example of what I have proposed to call "*Avanturine pottery*," from the minute, glittering particles of mica contained in the paste. In height it is  $4\frac{3}{8}$  ins., and has a reeded *ansa* on the dexter side of the neck, indicating that the vessel was intended for left hand use, like one of the Wilderspool relics. (See Plate 9, fig. 3.)

The material of the foregoing *tetinæ* is so absorbent that the lips cannot be pressed against them without adhering; hence, when employed for feeding infants, their spouts must have been provided with a calf's teat, or some such thing, as a protective,—a remnant of which practice may possibly be found in the finger of the kid glove which some country nurses draw over the spout of a teapot as a substitute for the female nipple.

In the Roman *tetinæ* may doubtlessly be traced the archetype of the mediæval feeding bottles, of which two examples are in the rich collection of London antiquities in the possession of Mr. J. W. Baily, who kindly permits me to place them before you. Both of these utensils may be described as little jugs, with handles arching from their rims to their bodies, at right angles to the sucking pipes. They measure  $3\frac{3}{4}$  ins. in height, and are of fawn coloured earthenware, with

their spouts and upper parts covered with plumbiferous glaze. The glaze on the earlier vessel is of a dull greenish hue, and its somewhat globose body is  $3\frac{1}{8}$  ins. diameter. It was found on the Temple shore of the Thames in 1864. (See Plate 9, fig. 4.) The second example has a rather more ovate body than its companion, and measures  $2\frac{1}{5}$  ins. in diameter. It has a yellow glaze. This interesting Elizabethan feeding bottle was exhumed in Old Swan-lane, Upper Thames-street, Sept. 1867. (See Plate 9, fig. 5.)

As time went on certain modifications in the form of the infants' feeding vessel were introduced. The distinction between neck and body was gradually obliterated, the sucking tube was lengthened and curved; and at last, instead of being an open canal, its end was made like a nipple with several little holes in it. The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibits an example showing all these marked changes in detail, and which is known to have been used in his family during the reign of George II. It is of cream coloured ware,  $3\frac{2}{3}$  ins. in height, resembling the old Spanish honey-jars in shape, and has the end of its swan-necked spout perforated with five holes, and the loop-handle at the opposite side takes the form of the outline of the human ear. Another feature to note in this curious specimen is, that it has a round cover with a knob at top, like the lid of a teapot. (See Pl. 9, fig. 6.)

It is needless to dwell further on the infants' feeding bottles, except to remark that the title seems of very recent introduction; for as late as the end of the seventeenth century such things were designated "suckling" and "sucking bottles." Thus in Torriano's *Dictionary, Italian and English* (London, 1688), s. v. "Bottle," a sucking bottle for a child, *vasetto da bambino*. In the *Cambridge Latin Dictionary* (1693), we have, among the barbarous words, *alifanus* and *alifans*, a sucking bottle for children; and in Boyer's *French and English Dictionary* (London, 1699), a sucking bottle, *succeron*. The name "sucking bottle" is even retained in Johnson's Dictionary of 1799, where it is defined as "a bottle which to children supplies the want of a pap"; and the following citation from Locke is given in illustration of the word, "He that will say children join these general abstract speculations with their sucking bottles, has more zeal for his opinion, but less sincerity."

Whilst investigating the mode pursued in early times to

furnish nutrition to infancy, what a flood of recollections bursts upon the mind, spreading the thoughts over mythology, fable, tradition, history, and romance. Rivers of delicious milk gush from the swelling breasts of Ada Maya, the consort of the mighty Vishnu. Gigantic effigies tower before us of Isis Thermuthis ("the great mother") acting the mother's part with the divine Horus in her arms. We are borne in fancy to Crete, and behold Jupiter sucking at the dugs of the goat, Amalthea, upon Mount Ida. We think of the son of this same Jupiter, and turning our eyes to Heaven contemplate the glorious *galaxia*, the *Via Lactea*, and commiserate Juno smarting under the lusty efforts of baby Hercules. Looking from above to below, the white lilies remind us how that the milk of the goddess descended to our earth, and where it fell there sprang up these *Rosæ Junoniæ*. These fair flowers, again, bring to mind the *Carduus Benedictus* (the blessed thistle), the albescent markings on whose green leaves are fabled by the pious to be due to the splash of the Virgin Mary's milk as she fled into Egypt with the infant Saviour of the world. Romulus and Remus, the twin sons of Rhea Silvia, with the kindly wolf, the sheltering *Ficus Ruminalis* and Tiber-washed Palatine, are visible as in a dream; and antiquity teems with legends of how the illustrious in heaven and earth drew their first food, ere human hands had simulated nature's breasts, and moulded clay to cheat the infant's lips.

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## WILLIAM KEMP AND HIS "NINE DAIES WONDER."

BY T. F. DILLON CROKER, F.S.A.

So much interest attaches to the character of the social life of our ancestors, that no apology can be necessary for introducing to the notice of the members of an archæological association some description of one of the most suggestive incidents in the history of those old English amusements of which any detailed accounts have been preserved.

The incident to which I shall take the liberty of referring, and which made a considerable stir in those days, is highly

characteristic of the manners and customs of the Elizabethan period, when one of the best known diversions of the highway was the "Morris" or "Morrice" dance constantly practised at public festivals, and originating, it has been said, with either the Moors or the Spaniards,—reliable authorities pronouncing in favour of the latter,—and of which the best account is to be found in Douce's *Illustrations of Shakespeare*. In these dances were usually five men differently accoutred, and a boy dressed in a girl's habit; the number of persons, however, was not limited. Bells, amounting to from twenty to forty, were worn round the ankles of each dancer. We should not understand such a freak at the present day, even in an age of velocipedes and bicycles, as that of a man taking it into his head to produce an effect by dancing on the road from London to Norwich for "a nine daies wonder"; or, to speak more correctly, for a month's duration, since his dance lasted for the latter period, the rest of the time being taken up by stoppages on the way; the dancer being a man who was a comic actor of high reputation, and who, if not by actual begging, at least by selling merchandise on the road, managed to get a good deal of money, and in addition was patronised and well treated by respectable people.

Such a man was William Kemp, who must have made a noise in more senses than one, inasmuch as he is represented with nine bells on each leg, attached to the lower part of his hose. His costume consisted of a hat and feather, ornamented doublet, streamers from each arm, and rather full-bodied hose extending nearly to the ankles; and that he created a considerable sensation as he danced through the various towns, his journal sufficiently proves. Kemp succeeded Tarleton, who was probably the most eminent comic actor England ever produced. From about 1589 to 1593 Kemp belonged to a company under the management of the celebrated Edward Alleyn. In 1589 his comic talents were much estimated, as appears from an old pamphlet called *An Almond for a Parrot*, written by Thomas Nashe, and dedicated to "that most comicall and conceited Cavaliere Monsieur du Kempe, jestmonger and vice gerent generall to the Ghost of Dick Tarleton." He may probably have performed Launce, the first Gravedigger, Launcelot Gobbo, and Touchstone; but this is mere conjecture. However, he appears,

from the quarto plays of Shakespeare, to have been the original performer of Peter and Dogberry. He was an author as well as an actor, and his "*Nine Daies Wonder*" was considered of sufficient importance to be noticed by Ben Jonson and other writers. This rare tract (faithfully reprinted by the Camden Society, with an introduction by the Rev. Alexander Dyce, was published the year following Kemp's remarkable dance. The original quarto is preserved in the Bodleian Library, the exact title of which ran thus: "Kemps nine daies wonder. Performed in a daunce from London to Norwich, containing the pleasure, paines, and kinde entertainment of William Kemp betweene London and that Citty in his late Morrice. Wherein is somewhat set down worth note; to reprove the slaunders spred of him: many things merry, nothing hurtfull. Written by himselfe to satisfie his friends. London. Printed by E. A. for Nicholas Ling and are to be sold at his shop at the west doore of St. Paules Church 1600." Following the title-page is the dedication: "To the true Ennobled Lady and his most bountifull Mistress, Mistress Anne Fitton, Mayde of Honor to the most sacred Mayde, Royall Queene Elizabeth." Its publication was caused by the desire, as expressed by the writer, "to reprove lying fooles I never knew, to comend loving friends which by the way I daily found," as well as to show his duty to the aforesaid Mistress Anne Fitton.

The Cambridge scholars laughed at his productions. There was a sentiment at that time assigned to Kemp, that "it is better to make a fool of the world, than, like you scholars, to be fooled of the world." That he was very severe on his revilers there is sufficient evidence in "Kemp's humble request to the impudent generation of Ballad makers and their coherentes; that it would please their rascalities to pittie his paines in the great journey he pretends, and not fill the country with lyes of his never done actes as they did in his late Morrice to Norwich." In this "request," which he prints at the end of his account of his journey, he observes: "I know you to be a sort of witles beetleheads that can understand nothing but what is knock't into your scalpes"; adding that "I would wish ye, imploy not your little wits in certyfyng the world that I am gone to Rome, Jerusalem, Venice, or any other place at your idle appoint. I know the best of ye, by the lyes ye writ of me, got not the price

of a good hat to cover your brainles heads', with much more to the same purpose.

I propose now to follow Kemp in his "merry daunce" as briefly as possible. The "first daies journey" was on "the first Munday in cleane Lent," when "somewhat before seven in the morning Cavaliero Kemp, head master of Morrice dauncers, high head borough of Leighs and onely tricker of your Trill-lilles and best bel shangles betweene Sion and mount Surrey began frolickly to foote it from the right honorable the Lord Mayors of London toward the right worshipfull (and truely bountifull) Master Mayors of Norwich." On his first day's "morrice" he went through the north-east suburb of London, through Mile End and Stratford, going on to Ilford, where he rested; then dancing within a quarter of a mile of Romford, in which town he tells us that "to give rest to my well labour'd limbes I continued two dayes, being much beholding to the townsmen for their love, but more to the Londoners that came hourelly thither in great numbers to visite me, offring much more kindnes then I was willing to accept." On the following Thursday, dancing through Romford, he proceeded to "Burnt-wood," [Brentwood], where he rested; and in the evening "tript it" to "Ingerstone" [Ingatestone], with a crowd at his heels that "would needs, when they heard my Taber, trudge after mee through thicke and thin." The next day he came to Witford Bridge, and so on to Chelmsford, and three miles towards Braintree; but returned to Chelmsford, where he remained until Monday, and where he says, as of other places through which he passed, "the good cheere and kinde welcome was much more than I was willing to entertaine; for my onely desire was to refraine drink, and be temperate in my dyet." He arrived at Braintree at noon the day following, staying there the night and the next day. "Onely I daunst three miles on Tewsdays to ease my Wednesdayes journey." On Wednesday he danced on to Sudbury, and arrived at Melford, where he received entertainment from "one Master Colts, a very kind and worshipfull gentleman," until the Saturday, when he took his leave, and danced on to Bury, resting at Clare. At Bury he was detained by the snow until the following Thursday. On Friday he set on towards Thetford, "dauncing that temme mile in three houres"; and on his arrival he says, "the people came in great numbers to see me, for there were many there being

Size time." He was liberally entertained by Sir Edwin Rich "during his continuance there Satterday and Sunday." Of his reception at Thetford he expresses his gratitude strongly; and, indeed, he had every reason to be satisfied with it, as he adds, "at my departure on Munday his worship gave me five pound." He was made welcome at each stage of his journey, and received hospitality and kindness from all; but this appears to have been the only instance of his having been presented with a larger sum of money than "six-pences and grotes" before arriving at his destination. On Monday morning he danced to Rockland, where, coming to his inn, mine host thus breathlessly accosts him: "O Kemp! deere Master Kemp! you are even as welcome as—the Queen's best greyhound!" Having rested at Rockland on the Monday evening, he journeyed on to Kingham on the Tuesday; and on the ninth and last day (Wednesday) he came to Barford Bridge and Norwich, deferring his dance through the city until the Saturday following, when he entered in at St. Stephen's Gate, and past the Market Place, before a large concourse of people, thus concluding his memorable journey; during the progress of which, as has been already stated, he received favours from all; and at its close, the mayor, besides presenting him with a gratuity of five pounds, gave him forty shillings a year for life; no large annuity in these days, perhaps, but differently estimated then.

From his diary I am tempted to make one or two amusing extracts. On the first day he tells us that "Being past White chappell, and having left faire London with all that North East Suburb before named, multitudes of Londoners left not me: but eyther to keepe a custome which many holde that Mile End is no walke without a recreatiō at Stratford Bow with Creame and Cakes, or else for love they beare toward me, or perhappes to make themselves merry if I should chance (as many thought) to give over my Morrice within a mile of Mile End; however, many a thousand brought me to Bow, where I rested a while from dauncing, but had small rest with those that would have urg'd me to drinking. But I warrant you Will Kemp was wise enough: to their ful cups kinde thanks was my returne, with Gentlemanlike protestations as 'Truely Sir, I dare not. It stands not with the congruitie of my health.' Congruitie said I?

how came that strange language in my mouth? I thinke scarcely that it is any Christen worde, and yet it may be a good worde for ought I knowe, though I never made it, nor doe verye well understand it: yet I am sure I have bought it at the word mongers at as deare a rate as I could have had a whole 100 of Bauines at the wood mongers. Farwell Congruitie, for I mean now to be more concise and stand upon evener bases; but I must neither stand nor sit, the Tabrer strikes alarum. Tickle it good Tom. Ile follow thee. Farewell Bowe; have over the bridge where I heard say honest Conscience was once drowned: its pittye if it were so; but thats no matter belonging to our Morrice, lets now along to Stratford Langton."

"It was the custome," he says, "of honest country fellows, my unknowne friends, upon hearing of my Pype (which might well be heard in a still morning or evening a myle), to get up and beare mee company a little way. In this foule way two pretty plaine youthes watch't me, and with their kindnes somewhat hindred me. One a fine light fellow would be still before me, the other ever at my heeles. At length coming to a broad splash of water and mud which could not be avoyded I fetch't a rise, yet fell in over the anckles at the further end. My youth that follow'd me took his jump and stuck fast in the midst, crying out to his companion, 'Come George call yee this dauncing? Ile go no further,' for indeede hee could goe no further till his fellow was faine to wade and help him out. I could not chuse but laugh to see how like two frogges they laboured: a heartye farwell I gave them, and they faintly bad God speed me, saying if I daunst that durtie way this seaven years again, they would never daunce after me."

One more extract from Kemp's diary will suffice as a specimen of the rest. He writes that, "In this towne of Sudbury there came a lusty tall fellow, a butcher by profession, that would in a Morrice keepe mee company to Bury. I being glad of his friendly offer gave him thankes, and forward wee did set; but ere ever we had measur'd halfe a mile of our way, he gave me over in the plain field, protesting that if he might get a 100 pound he would not hold out with me; for indeed my pace in dauncing is not ordinary. As he and I were parting a lusty country lasse being among the people, call'd him faint hearted lout, say



ing 'If I had begun to daunce I would have held out one myle though it had cost my life,' at which wordes many laughed. 'Nay,' saith she, 'if the dauncer will lend me a leash of his bells, I'll venter to tread one mile with him myself.' I look't upon her, saw mirth in her eies, heard boldnes in her words, and beheld her ready to tuck up her russet petticoate. I fitted her with bells which (s)he merrily taking, garnish't her thick short legs, and with a smooth brow bad the Taber begin. The Drum strucke; forward march't I with my merry Maydemarian, who shooke her fat sides, and footed it merrily to Melfoord, being a long myle. There parting with her, I gave her (besides her skinfull of drinke) an English crowne to buy more drinke, for good wench she was in a piteous heat: my kindnes she requited with dropping some dozen of short courtesies, and bidding God blesse the Dauncer. I bad her adieu, and to give her her due, she had a good care, daunst truely, and wee parted friendly."

New particulars of any importance respecting the actors of the Shakespearean period are discovered at rare intervals. One fact, however, of singular interest respecting Kemp has come to light since the publication of the *Nine Daies Wonder*, by Mr. Dyce, in 1840; disproving the opinion of that acute critic, that the reference to Kemp dancing the Morris over the Alps, was only a sportive allusion to his journey to Norwich. It has been pointed out by Mr. Halliwell that in MS. Sloane 392, in the British Museum, there is absolute evidence that Kemp returned from Italy and Germany in the year 1601. The words are these, in a diary under the date of 2nd September, 1601: "Kemp, an actor who had been travelling in Germany and Italy, returned after having suffered some disasters." It seems clear, therefore, that the very curious notice of Kemp in the *Travailes of the Three English Brothers* (1607) is founded on fact. Mr. Dyce has quoted so exhaustively from this play, it cannot be necessary to repeat the numerous passages extracted by him.

Kemp was buried on the 6th November, 1603, in the churchyard of St. Saviour's, Southwark, and it is surmised that he died of the plague. He is commemorated in Braithwait's *Remains*; and although the lines may be familiar to some of my hearers, they seem to be a fitting conclusion to the present paper:

"Welcome from Norwich, Kempe! All joy to see  
Thy safe returne moriscoed lustely.

But out, alas! how soone's thy morrice done!  
 When pipe and taber, all thy friends be gone,  
 And leave thee now to dance the second part  
 With feeble nature, not with nimble art.  
 Then all thy triumphs fraught with strains of mirth,  
 Shall be cag'd up within a chest of earth.  
 Shall be? They are. Th'ast danced thee out of breath,  
 And now must make thy parting dance with Death."

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## HANS HOLBEIN AS AN HISTORICAL PAINTER.

BY HENRY F. HOLT, ESQ.

AMONG the numerous disciples of foreign art who visited England in the first half of the sixteenth century, none has more deservedly and continuously commanded the admiration of posterity, or taken a stronger hold on public esteem, than "Hans Holbein the younger." No better confirmation of that fact can be desired than the struggles evinced in the late memorable collection of portraits at South Kensington, to lay claim to the honoured name, however feeble or futile the attempt; and to such an extent was this weakness carried, that it is hardly too much to aver that not a tithe of the pictures there attributed to Holbein had the remotest claim to that honour, or were worthy to be identified with his reputation.

Considering the important position in art universally awarded to Holbein, it is much to be regretted that, comparatively speaking, our information respecting him is even yet confined to a very narrow limit, and that some cardinal truths connected with him have but very lately, for the first time, been made known to us. To one of our most esteemed members, W. H. Black, Esq., F.S.A., palæographer of our Association, must the world of art be for ever indebted for that which is, beyond all question, one of the most interesting facts connected with Holbein, viz. the discovery of his will, as well as the date of its proof, thus closing the artist's worldly career, no less than eleven years earlier than had been previously imagined; thereby, as a necessary consequence, annihilating a host of pretenders to his pencil, and rendering his genuine works greatly enhanced as well in

interest as in value. In like manner, by the exertions of Ralph Wornum, Esq., Keeper and Secretary of the National Gallery, we have been presented with a carefully compiled record of *The Life and Works of Holbein*, which well merits the attention of all who desire the best introduction to a correct knowledge of his personal history, his varied genius, and his marvellous works, as far as known.

Without desiring to enter upon any lengthened detail of the artist's life, it may nevertheless be useful, on the present occasion, that I should recall to your recollection that Holbein was born at Augsburg in 1494, and that he died in London between the 7th Oct. and 29th November, 1543.

His first visit to England was about 1526, on which occasion he was the bearer of a letter of introduction from Erasmus to Sir Thomas More, who at that time was already in the enjoyment of the offices of Treasurer of the Exchequer, Speaker of the House of Commons, and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and otherwise stood high in the favour of his royal master, the capricious Henry VIII. As the motives for Holbein's visit to England have been frequently misunderstood, it may be useful to state that its primary causes were, "the raging of the plague at Basle," and the almost greater plague of poverty, from which he was then severely suffering. This, as well as the want of encouragement he met with, is conclusively shown in the oft-quoted letter written by Erasmus from Basle, August 29, 1526, and sent by Holbein to Peter Ægidius of Antwerp (*Erasmi Opera*, 1703, tom. iii, Epist. ccccxxxii), wherein he wrote: "He who gives you this letter is the man who painted me. I will not trouble you with his praises, though he is a distinguished artist. If he should wish to see Quintyn" (thereby meaning Quintyn Matsys of Antwerp), "and you have not leisure yourself to introduce him, you can let your servant show him the house. *Here* the arts are torpid. He seeks England in order to scrape together a few angels. Through him you can write what you like."

On Holbein's arrival in England he was invited to take up his abode at the residence of Sir Thomas More at Chelsea, situate in the midst of a large garden, to which was annexed a farm-yard with barns, outhouses, etc., in which Sir Thomas stored his corn and other products of his farm. Not only, indeed, was the artist hospitably received by his kind and

powerful host, but encouraged to remain with him nearly three years, during which period he was introduced to some of the leading personages of the court, and executed several of his best known and most esteemed portraits.

From the biographers of Holbein we learn that at this period his artistic qualifications, independent of his ability as a painter, were exceptionally numerous, even considering the galaxy of talent which distinguished the celebrities of the sixteenth century. Thus we find him described as "an architect, a modeller, a carver, an excellent designer of ornaments, an engraver, and a designer for engravings to be executed by others. He also invented patterns for goldsmiths' work, enamellers, and chasers of plate; also for weapons, belt-ornaments, scabbards, sheaths, sword-belts, buttons and hooks, girdles, hatbands, and clasps for shoes, knives, forks, salt-cellars, and vases; several of which were afterwards engraved by Holbein.

About August, 1529, Holbein left his patron's house on his return to Germany, as we know from undoubted sources that on the 5th of September in that year he saw Erasmus at Frieburg, on his way to Basle. The occasion of this visit was to present Erasmus, as the friend of Sir Thomas More, with the pen and ink sketch Holbein had made of the More family, and which is still preserved in the Museum at Basle, which derived it from Amerbach, the residuary legatee of Erasmus. The delight experienced by Erasmus at this present is well described by him in a letter he addressed on the following day to More, dated 6th Sept. 1529 (*Œuvres d'Erasmus*, t. iii, col. 1232, B. E. Edition de Leyde). Holbein remained in Basle until the close of 1531, when he returned to England, although not to the residence of Sir Thomas, who then, and for two years previously, had filled the office of lord high chancellor. Tradition has assigned Holbein a house on London Bridge as his new quarters; but on that question no certainty exists.

Shortly after the artist's return he was presented to the king, through, it is believed, the introduction of Sir Thomas, and from that time continued in his majesty's service until the year 1541, when his name disappears from the volume of the king's household accounts, although a fine portrait by him of his royal patron, dated 1543, is in the collection of Viscount Galway at Sereby. (Dr. Waagen's *Handbook*, vol. i,



p. 201), that being the year in which, on the authority of the probate of his will, already mentioned, he died.

The large number of miniatures, portraits, allegorical and scriptural subjects, admitted to be the genuine works of the artist, sufficiently evince his unwearied perseverance, and fully justify Mr. Wornum's declaration as to the comprehensive character of his capacity and genius.

Notwithstanding his great proficiency as a portrait painter, he in early life devoted his time principally to Scriptural subjects, most of which are still fortunately preserved, and attest the power of his mind, the vigour of his treatment, and the fertility of his invention. Amongst these may be cursorily mentioned "The Martyrdom of St. Sebastian," 1516; "Adam and Eve," 1517; "A Nativity," "Adoration of the Magi," "Descent from the Cross," "Veronica," "Christ disputing with the Doctors," as well as his famous picture (in duplicate) of the "Meyer Family and Virgin," all of which were executed prior to his first visit to England.

On the present occasion, however, I do not propose asking you to consider the merits of Holbein as a portrait or Scriptural painter; but travelling somewhat out of the beaten track by which his progress is usually followed, I will attempt to bring him before you as an historical painter and designer; exhibiting in that branch of art, as Mr. Wornum declares, "powers of composition of the highest class." Amongst Holbein's earliest historical paintings may be cited those derived from Roman history, representing "Marcus Curtius"; "Tarquin and Lucretia"; "Marius Furius Camillus"; "Lucretia stabbing herself, in the presence of her Father, before Brutus"; and his favourite subject, "Mutius Scævola before Porsenna," which he represented on three different occasions.

During his stay in England his time was so much occupied upon portraits as to leave but little at his disposal for historical painting. Hampton Court, however, in its heterogeneous collection, attributes to Holbein "The Battle of Pavia, 1525," "The Embarkation of Henry VIII at Dover in 1526," "The Interview between Henry VIII and the Emperor Maximilian," as well as that between "Henry and Francis I on the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520."

Up to the period of the discovery of Holbein's will, the great picture of Edward VI presenting at Whitehall, in 1552,

of virtue and rational piety for the obtainment of a cheerful spirit. The author next proves why fishing should be held preferable to hunting, hawking, and fowling; and the arguments he brings forward smack of the character of the indolent monk accustomed to his quiet cell, the peaceful cloisters, and the silence of the library and *scriptorium*: he hates the fatigue of the field. The hunter, he says, must always run and follow his hounds; he blows his horn till his lips are blistered; he comes home wet and tired, having lost some of his hounds, etc. The falconer's pleasure is frequently spoiled by his hawk flying out of sight, or flying away altogether, when he may whistle till he is "right evil athirst"; or his hawk is ill, and then he has to stay at home. Fowling is equally unpleasant sport. In winter it can only be pursued in the coldest weather; and in summer the fowler has to go out at the break of day, when the dew is on the grass, and he gets wet up to his knees. Commend me to fishing, that is easy work; but only angling, be it understood: all other kind of fishing is laborious and "grievous," as it tires people, and makes them wet and cold. The pleasures and losses of the angler are then weighed against those of the hunter, hawker, and fowler, and the balance is found to be largely in favour of the "gentle sport."

After this exordium full and useful instructions are given in the art of making fishing-tackle, rods, hooks, floats, lines; all of which, it appears, the lover of the sport had to make himself. From these instructions we gather that the stealthy delight of the walking cane-rod, and the stolen half-hour's sport in a snug corner under a bridge, were well known to the author of our treatise; for after directions for the construction of the said rod, he knowingly adds: "And thus shall you make you a rod so privy that you may walk therewith, and there shall no man know where about or on what business you go." Practical instructions about fishing are next given with true Waltonian preciseness. Were the author of this treatise to lift his venerable head from the unknown grave in which he now reposes, to visit once more the glimpses of this go-ahead world, he would be puzzled at the nomenclature of the modern artificial baits. He would not exactly be aware of the merits of the "*Killing Sam Slick*" or the fascinating "*Green Mantle*"; neither could he be expected to know much about the "*Professor*" or "*Long*

*Tom*," however well the poor mortal may be acquainted with the secrets of the "*Grizzly King*." But I would venture to bet that, if he once more were to be placed by the side of a river or a lake, with his own old fashioned bait and tackle, he would soon fill his creel with store of fish,—provided always, as honest Izaak Walton prudently premises in such cases,—provided there were fish in the water; and provided also that they were inclined to bite, and that the hook was baited. Neither have modern treatises disdained to take an occasional leaf out of this prototype of the *Gentle Angler*. Thus, for instance, after recommending a roach or a fresh herring as a bait for a pike, the young fisherman is told to "take a frog, and put it in *assafætida*, and cast it into the water with a cord and a cork, and ye shall not fail of him; and if ye list to have a good sport, then tie the cord to a goose's foot, and you shall see good pulling, whether the goose or the pike shall have the better." Gentle sport this, which the goose in particular must have highly relished! and wherein may be traced, barring the *assafætida*, the "huxing" and "bottle-racing" of modern times; directions for which may be found in almost every book on angling, from the present and Walton downwards.

The different kinds of fishes are then examined, and the bait described best adapted for each. And here it may be remarked that the carp is also mentioned, but with the information that "there ben but few in England." Still this proves the fallacy of the well known popular rhyme :

"Hops, Reformation, turkeys, carp, and beer,  
Came into England all in one year."

In his description of the various kinds of fishes our Waltonian professor keeps an eye to the ultimate destination of the day's sport, and always tells us which fish is "right delicious to man's mouth." But we cannot speak very highly of his taste in culinary affairs. He was evidently no *gourmet*. Not only does he tell us that the chub's head is a "dainty morsel," but he appears to have entertained certain cannibal notions. "The barbel," he says, "is a sweet fish." We beg to differ from him. "But," he continues, "it is *quasi* meat, and perilous for man's body; for commonly it gives an introduction to fevers; and *if it be eaten raw*, it may cause man's death, which has often been seen." That raw barbel ought

to cause the death of any civilised, unfeathered biped all cooks will allow. That such an event should have been frequent, can only be accounted for by the delightful state of unsophisticated nature which prevailed in the fifteenth century. Certainly he who swallowed raw oyster *was* a bold man; but he was well rewarded for his bravery, discussing the savoury mollusc not only unwashed and undressed, but also unshaven. Yet we doubt if, on the strength of that precedent, anybody now-a-days will feel inclined to try the flavour of a raw barbel.

This amusing little work concludes with a remonstrance to anglers to avoid selfishness, and charging them not to fish in a poor man's water; not to break his gins, wears, or engines; not to steal the fish out of them; not to break any gates or hedges; not to fish for filthy lucre, but only for sport; not to forget saying their accustomed prayers whilst they fish; not to take as much fish as they possibly can; and finally, to do all what lies in their power to promote the welfare of fish, and to destroy its enemies. The address of the publisher at the end gives by no means proof of such amiable gentleness and kindheartedness. Its cold-blooded selfishness grates on the ear after the above humane charges. It runs as follows:—"And for bycause that this present treatise should not come to the hand of each idle person which would desire it, if it were printed alone by itself, and put in a little pamphlet; therefore I have compiled it in a greater volume of divers books concerning gentle and noblemen, to the intent that the aforesaid idle persons, who should have but little measure in the said disport of fishing, should not by this means utterly destroy it."

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## ON THE TOWN RECORDS OF ST. ALBAN'S.<sup>1</sup>

BY W. H. BLACK, ESQ., F.S.A., PALÆOGRAPHER.

It may be generally observed that records of municipalities consist of three principal classes,—first, charters and other grants of powers, privileges, and possessions: secondly, journals and other records of the public and official transac-

<sup>1</sup> The substance of a lecture delivered at the St. Alban's Congress.

tions of the municipality; and thirdly, accounts, vouchers, letters, and miscellaneous documents. It is somewhat disappointing to find that, notwithstanding the great antiquity of St. Alban's as a municipality, yet its oldest charter is more modern than the charters of many other municipalities. This is accounted for by the fact that very many of our boroughs are boroughs by prescription, not by charter at all. St. Alban's was a borough long before it was incorporated by special grant. I shall be able to produce a charter of no higher antiquity than the time of Edward VI to start with; yet in my humble opinion the town of St. Alban's is identical with the municipality mentioned by the Roman historian, Tacitus, as having been attacked and destroyed when London itself fell a prey to the same rebellion. But there is considerable difficulty in bridging over the history of the borough from Roman times until later times. The difficulty arises from the great power and privileges of the abbots of St. Alban's. From the time of the establishment, under a Saxon king, of a great and rich and powerful monastery in this place, the local power chiefly resided with the abbot and convent. By the side of that vast establishment the civil power sank into comparative insignificance; and the struggles between the common people in this place, and the abbots, were in the most lively manner detailed last evening by one of our Secretaries.

Those interesting details put me in mind of a little circumstance which I very lately found in the public records, and which may serve as an interesting supplement to the anecdotes lately recounted by Mr. Levien in his paper "On the Popular Tumults at St. Alban's, *temp.* Richard II" (see *ante*, pp. 32-44). It is the story of poor little Catharine Passavant, as told in a writ enrolled in the Close Roll of 33 Henry III, which recites that Walter Passavant represented to the king that his little daughter, being of the age of four years, came to the house of Nicholas Schove, opened the door, and by misfortune pushed Edith, the daughter of Nicholas, into a vessel full of hot water; so that the child soon after died, and little Catharine was committed to the prison of the abbot of St. Alban's, and there detained for this imaginary offence. Upon this representation the king pardoned the poor child the offence which she was supposed to have committed. As the abbot had got her in custody he evidently was unwilling to

let her go free, else there had been no necessity to appeal to the king. The king commanded the sheriff of the county to go to the gaol, and to set the child at liberty without delay; and she was, no doubt, liberated accordingly. This is a remarkable instance of the hardships often experienced by the townspeople in the neighbourhood of those powerful and lordly abbots. As an incident not derived from local records, but from the public records of the realm, it is fraught with instruction, and shows how grievous such a government as that must have been to people who claimed their native freedom.

It is not, therefore, surprising to find it alleged in Parliament, in the eighth year of the reign of Edward II, that the abbots of St. Alban's had systematically prevented the representation of this borough in Parliament. This petition of the burgesses of St. Alban's is one of the most valuable and instructive of records, because the grand argument for the early representation of the commons in Parliament is founded upon that document by the learned William Petyt, formerly Keeper of Records in the Tower of London, and one of our best constitutional writers. I hold that the arguments deduced from it, to which I called attention at a meeting in this building about twelve months ago, are irrefragable. There may be some little fault here or there; but upon the whole the allegations of that petition must be taken to be founded in truth. It is impossible for any reasonable man to suppose that such allegations, solemnly made to Parliament, and entertained by Parliament, should have been enrolled in the public records, that an answer should have been given consistent with the request, and that in after times the borough *was* represented in Parliament, unless there were truth in the allegations of that petition. This petition will bridge over a great part of the intervening time, and I therefore make no scruple in calling your attention to it.

The burgesses of St. Alban's, in the eighth year of Edward II (1314-15), alleged in their petition to the king that they, as other burgesses of the realm, when Parliament should be summoned, ought to go thither "by two of their own burgesses, as in all times past they had been accustomed to go, as well in the time of the Lord Edward, late king of England, father of the king that is now, and his progenitors, as in the time of Edward II, always before this

instant Parliament." They also declared that the names of such burgesses had always been enrolled in the rolls of Chancery; but that, notwithstanding all this, the sheriff of Hertfordshire had, at the procuracy of the abbot of St. Alban's and his council, refused to warn the burgesses or to return the names of any of them to Parliament, as it belonged to his duty to do. We can infer from this petition (and it is evident from the records of Parliament) that the burgesses had been accustomed to be represented in Parliament before the eighth year of the reign of Edward II; and the limits mentioned in the allegation go beyond the time of the earliest record of writs issued for the Commons. The public inference drawn from it is that the Commons always were summoned, and were represented in Parliaments, and not the Peers spiritual and temporal only; and, therefore, that this was the ancient constitution.

Without entering into a parliamentary or constitutional discussion, I mention this as an important fact in the history of this municipality, and shall proceed to the first known instrument of incorporation of this town, which is the charter of Edward VI, dated the 12th of May in his seventh year. This is the original document, partly illuminated in the debased style of the middle of the sixteenth century. It is badly illuminated in that style. Here is a little figure of King Edward sitting on a throne, in the initial letter B. [Mr. Black read a portion of the charter, which incorporated the town of St. Alban's, making it a "free borough corporate in deed, fact, and name for ever," the mayor and burgesses to be "one body corporate and politic," etc.] Amongst other provisions, authority is given to found a grammar school. It is impossible to go through all the details contained in a document of such length: we must take this charter as the ordinary and proper form of the incorporation of a borough.<sup>1</sup> The next is a charter of Queen Elizabeth, with a small picture of the queen seated on her throne, and her name written with a curiously shaped letter E. This charter is dated the 22nd of February in her second year (1560); and here is part of the great seal still remaining attached to it. The next charter, which is by Charles I, is in the barbarous style then beginning to be used, with orna-

<sup>1</sup> The whole charter is printed, in Latin, in Clutterbuck's *History of Hertfordshire*, vol. i, App., pp. 23-31.

mentation on the margin, and with a portrait of the king in the initial letter. In these times large sums of money were expended in ornaments of the very worst style. The charter of Charles II is a confirmation of the former charters, and contains a respectable portrait of the king; drawn, not engraven, as some of them are. It is the now operating charter. Here is an irregular, illegal charter granted by James II, containing an engraved portrait of the king. It is a mere monument of history, because after the Revolution the previous charters were restored, and put in force again.

Although we have come to the end of the series of charters properly so called, yet there are some documents belonging to this class which demand special attention. This document, which has lost the great seal that was attached to it, is a grant of Queen Elizabeth, and contains an interesting signature of Lord Keeper Bacon, who certifies that he has taxed or settled the amount to be paid for it into the Hancoper at £5:3:4. This patent relates to the free school, and is expressly said to be granted by Queen Elizabeth at the request of her Lord Keeper Bacon. It says: "Whereas our dearest brother, King Edward VI, the late king of England, by his letters patent, etc., gave and granted to the mayor and burgesses of the borough of St. Alban's full power and authority to erect one grammar school within the church of St. Alban's, or in other convenient place; and of making and ordaining, as they think fit, wholesome ordinances concerning the same: now we, at the request of our beloved and faithful councillor, Nicholas Bacon, Knight, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, for the relief and sustentation of the said schoolmaster and school, have given to the mayor and burgesses the liberty of licensing two taverns for the sale of wine, the profit of which shall go in aid of the school." There is a subsequent patent, under the great seal of James I (which seal is perfect), confirming the grant, and authorising a third license for the sale of wine.

There are also belonging to the class of charters two remarkable documents relating to the by-laws of the corporation. In ancient times corporations made their own by-laws, and it was a matter of complaint that, for the sake of fines and emoluments, they injuriously affected the civil rights and private property of individuals. Under a statute of Henry VII no by-laws or ordinances of any corporation



were allowed unless approved by the chief justices of the courts of Westminster; therefore, when by-laws were made, it became needful to submit them to those authorities, and to obtain their allowance. This instrument, therefore, is a sort of supplement to the charter of incorporation, which gave to the corporation the power of governing the town; nevertheless, the power of governing the town was subordinate to the statutes then in force. The rules, regulations, and ordinances to be established for the well government of the town were submitted to the judges; and here are the signatures and seals of Thomas Coventry, Lord Keeper; Thomas Richardson, Lord Chief Justice; and two other judges. These are their seals, impressed on wax, in these little boxes. I produce another set of by-laws of later date; which is exceedingly interesting, because it contains a view of St. Alban's in the nineteenth year of the reign of Charles II. Here are the churches and a general view of the town; and perhaps it is a fair representation of St. Alban's as it then was. Here also is an imaginary picture of the place in ancient times; perhaps of the Romans and Britons. The handsomest piece of illumination is contained in the aforementioned charter of Charles II. Here are the by-laws established after the Restoration, and allowed by the judges; and the king's portrait, which was put to these documents in consequence of the great outburst of loyal zeal after the return of sovereignty.

In this little, old fashioned leather case is contained an exemplification of the boundaries of the borough as they were defined in the time of Charles I. The recital is in Latin, and the description of the boundaries is in English, and is of peculiar interest in a topographical point of view.

Among the books is a curious ancient volume, which contains the earliest recorded proceedings of the corporation, —a kind of chronicle, beginning in 1586, and extending to the year 1640.

Lastly, the miscellaneous records comprise some other very interesting and curious documents. One of these contains the determination of a dispute concerning precedency, between the wife of the mayor and the wife of the steward, which was settled in a grave and formal manner by garter-king-of-arms, Sir William Segar, in the reign of James I. He decided that the wife of the mayor, a barber, ought to have,

a charter to the three hospitals of Christ, Bridewell, and St. Thomas, was always considered as the work of Holbein, under which belief Virtue engraved it in 1750, and asserted, with Walpole, that Holbein's likeness was to be found in the background. This engraving was afterwards included, as Holbein's production, in the historical print published by the Society of Antiquaries. Inasmuch however, as it now appears the event in question occurred ten years after Holbein's decease, it can no longer be maintained in connexion with his name, leaving the real artist yet to be discovered. Such being the case, the fact remains that, notwithstanding the most minute and zealous searches throughout the art collections of Europe, where pictures and drawings by Holbein have been supposed to exist, the only product of his pencil which fairly falls within the definition of an historical subject is the one at Barber Surgeons' Hall; and even that solitary instance is slender and unsatisfactory to the last degree; the more so, as amongst the drawings of Holbein hitherto discovered, no trace is to be found of it, or of any of its details. I do not include in this category of historical paintings the two allegorical compositions called "Riches and Poverty," executed by Holbein in tempera (*circa* 1532), for the Guildhall of the merchants of the Steel Yard; but which unfortunately have long since entirely disappeared, and are believed to have perished. Happily, however, the compositions have been preserved, and an original sketch of the "Riches" by Holbein himself, drawn with the pen, and washed with Indian ink, is now to be found in the Print Room of the British Museum, and well merits inspection. This last mentioned example derives an additional interest from its being a most favourable specimen of that well known characteristic of Holbein, viz. his faculty of sketching with the pen, and then washing his drawing with Indian ink; of which practice another instance may be quoted in the minute historical drawing, also in the British Museum, wherein Henry VIII is represented sitting alone at table, beneath a canopy; two persons are approaching him, whilst others are dispersed about the chamber. On the right is a buffet with various vessels. It is signed, in capital letters, "Holbein invent.," although I believe such signature to have been added long after its execution. It is, nevertheless, a true picture of the time; and according to Dr. Waagen, the

little heads are very spirited, and expressed with great mastery.

To this list of Holbein's historical drawings it will be my privilege this evening to add two others hitherto unnoticed. They are, however, entirely free from any washing with Indian ink,—a fact which merits attention, and renders them each *sui generis*. The washed sketches were, in a sense, finished drawings, which on the face of them fulfilled the artist's intentions; whereas the bare outlines of the two drawings I am about to submit to you, with their especial allusion to heraldic colours, show conclusively that they were merely intended as instructions for pictures to be afterwards executed. The subjects represented embrace two deeply interesting historical facts connected with the history and foreign policy of England in the reign of the Tudors, and in their detail supply us with a faithful memorial of two important events well worthy to be preserved from the dust of forgetfulness, which has hidden from us so many records of talent and excellence. The two drawings are on a single sheet of paper: the upper one representing Maximilian, King of the Romans (afterwards Emperor of Germany), sitting at table at Nuremberg on Christmas Day 1490, and entertaining Sir Charles Somerset and Sir John Wriothesley, Garter King at Arms, the two commissioners specially delegated by Henry VII to invest Maximilian with the insignia of the Order of the Garter. The lower drawing shows Ferdinand, Infante of Spain, and afterwards Emperor of Germany, at table with Lord Morley;<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Wriothesley,<sup>2</sup> Garter King at Arms; Dr. Edward Lee,<sup>3</sup> Archdeacon of Colchester; and Sir William Hussey,<sup>4</sup> the commissioners appointed by Henry VIII to

<sup>1</sup> Lord Morley (Sir Henry Parker) summoned to Parliament as Baron Morley, 15 April, 1523, to 28 Oct. 1555. He was one of the peers who signed the letter, 22 Henry VIII, to the Pope regarding the King's divorce from Queen Katharine (1528).

<sup>2</sup> Sir Thomas Wriothesley, Wallingford Herald, appointed on the death of his father, in 20 Henry VII (1505), Garter King of Arms.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Edward Lee, Archdeacon of Colchester, the successor of Wolsey as Archbishop of York, 1531, Chancellor of Salisbury, and Prebend of York. He died 6 Sept. 1544. He was grandson of Sir Richard Lee (Grocer), twice Lord Mayor of London, 1460 (39 Henry V) and 1469 (9 Edward IV); who was knighted on the field by Edward IV, 1470. His patron was Sir Thomas More; and, like the other great ecclesiastics of the day, he was employed on several negotiations abroad. He was an enemy to the Reformation.

<sup>4</sup> Sir W. Hussey, sheriff of the county of Lincoln in the 22nd Henry VIII. He was the eldest son, by the second marriage, of his father, Lord Hussey, with Margaret, daughter and heir of Sir Simon Blount of Mangerfield, Gloucester.

invest the Infanta with the insignia of the Garter; which ceremony also took place at Nuremberg on the 8th December, 1523. Both drawings were made by Holbein during his first visit to England, 1526-29, and whilst he was an inmate of Sir Thomas More's house at Chelsea.

The causes which gave rise to these drawings may be readily and reasonably assumed from the following facts. As already stated, on Holbein's arrival in England he took up his residence at the house of Sir Thomas More, where he also enjoyed the advantage of a comfortable studio, and the benefit of Sir Thomas' introduction to his numerous and distinguished friends. At that period the doctrines of Luther were making rapid progress, and agitated the greater portion of civilised Europe. Sir Thomas More was, as is well known, a zealous partisan and supporter of the Romish Church, and as such, violently opposed to the reformed faith. As a natural consequence the frequenters of his house were principally confined to those who partook of his religious opinions, and advocated his views. Amongst his most intimate and devoted friends, at this period of his life, were Sir Thomas Wriothesley, Garter King at Arms, and Dr. Edward Lee, Archdeacon of Colchester,—a churchman of great learning, virtue, and charity; but who, like his friend, was a bitter opponent to Lutheranism.

On the 12th April, 1522, Henry VIII, under Wolsey's advice, bestowed the honour of the stall vacant by the death of the Emperor Maximilian I, by electing his grandson, the Archduke Ferdinand, brother of the Emperor Charles V, a knight of the order; and on the 18th of August, 1523, whilst at Windsor, Henry signed and sealed a commission for the delivery of the habit and ensigns of the order to the Archduke, wherein, after reciting that the very high, excellent, and powerful prince, his much beloved cousin and good nephew, the Lord Fernando, Infante of Castile, Archduke of Austria, Count of Tyrol, and Lieutenant of the Holy Empire, etc., for his great merits and virtues, high birth, and nobility, etc., had been elected a knight of the order by the King and his brethren, the knights companions of the said noble order, at Henry's manor of Richmond; he commanded his well beloved Henry Lord Morley; Master Edward Lee, Doctor in Theology, Archdeacon of Colchester, his almoner; William Hussey, Knight; and Thomas Wriothesley, Garter,

his principal King at Arms, etc., to deliver the habit and ensigns of the order to Ferdinand; and the commission thus concluded, "En tesmoigne de ce, a ces presentes noz lettres, signees de nostre main, nous avons fait nostre le Seau du dit Noble Ordre de Saint-George nommé la Jarretière. Donné en nostre chasteau de Wyndesore le xviii jour d'Aoust d'an de Grace MDXXXIII, Et le xv An de nostre regne."

In order to mark his sympathy with the avowed determination of Charles V to repress, and if possible extinguish, the Reformation, Henry selected the moment whilst the celebrated Diet held at Nuremberg for that purpose was sitting, for the investiture of Ferdinand. The embassy of the King to the Archduke was very splendid, as Henry affected pomp and magnificence in all his business transactions abroad, and with foreign princes. Accordingly the four commissioners proceeded in great state to Nuremberg, where the ceremony of admitting the Archduke into the order was celebrated with the usual pomp on the 8th of December, 1523; on which day Ferdinand signed the formal certificate of his having received the before mentioned habit and ensigns of the order, as well as his having taken the prescribed oath; and the certificate concluded with "Donné en la ville de Newremberg, soutz nostre nom & seel, le dit viii jour de Decembre l'an de grace mil, cinq, cens, ving, troys."

In like manner Sir John Wriothesley, the father of Sir Thomas,<sup>1</sup> had been commissioned by King Henry VII, together with Sir Charles Somerset,<sup>2</sup> to invest Maximilian, Archduke of Austria (grandfather of the before mentioned Ferdinand and Charles V), who on the 16th Oct. 1489, had been elected a knight of the order, and which ceremony was duly fulfilled at Nuremberg on the 25th December, 1490 (6th Henry VII).

With two such memorable events in the lives of father and son, it may readily be imagined that Sir Thomas Wri-

<sup>1</sup> Usually described as "Wroth" and "Wrythe," Antelope and Blue Mantle Pursuivant, Leopard Herald, and Falcon Herald, in the reign of Edward IV, by whom he was knighted, was, by letters patent issued in the reign of Richard III (A.D. 1483), appointed to the office of Garter King at Arms, in which office he was continued by Henry VII.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Charles Somerset, illegitimate son of Henry Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, a person of extraordinary endowments, fulfilled several of the most important diplomatic missions, and was subsequently created a Knight Banneret, a Knight of the Garter, 19 Nov. 1495; Captain of the King's Guards, 1496; and Earl of Worcester, 2 Feb. 1513-14.

othsley, unexpectedly finding a German artist of great talent and equal poverty,—willing, therefore, and able to immortalise them on panel,—readily availed himself of the opportunity, and entrusted to Holbein the task of painting two pictures wherein the exploits of the Wriothsley family might be properly limned.

From the appearance of the drawings it would seem they had been finally approved by Sir Thomas, and the various colours desired duly marked in heraldic phraseology: hence the letters S., O., B., A., P., G., and V., which appear upon them,—S., sable, black; O., or, yellow (gold); B., blodius, blood colour (Dallaway, 405); A., azure, argent, blue, white; P., purple, purple; G., gules, red; V., vert, green, etc.; and some few words in writing,—in all probability that of the artist himself, especially as his monogram (BH) appears on the column at the left of the upper drawing; a copy of which monogram may be found in Bryan and Bruillot. Notwithstanding that no trace exists of the two pictures for which the drawings were made, the probability is very great that, considering the importance of the commission, and the circumstances under which it was given, the pictures were painted, or at least in progress, at the time Holbein left his patron's house, in August 1529, on the occasion of his temporary return to Basle; and, that they were consumed in the disastrous fire which occurred very shortly after the artist's departure; as, but for the original sketches having been in the possession of Wriothsley, all knowledge of them would have been lost. This fire took place during the visit of Sir Thomas to the King at Woodstock, and destroyed the principal part of his house at Chelsea, as well as all his outhouses and barns filled with corn, the misfortune having been caused by the negligence of a neighbour's servant. This calamity Sir Thomas communicated to his aged wife in a letter dated 3 Sept. 1529, which will be found at length in Lord Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors* (vol. i, p. 533); and which letter the noble and learned author mentions as "exciting his admiration of Sir Thomas, more than all his works, his public despatches, or his speeches in Parliament."

At the foot of the drawings are two coats of arms, those of Sir Charles Somerset and Sir John Wriothsley, which, in the pictures, would doubtless have been inserted in the blank escutcheons marked by the artist with the

letters A and B; and the same practice adopted with the blank shields in the lower drawing. At the back, in writing of the seventeenth century, is a description of both. It will also be remarked that at the foot of the drawing is a memorandum, in all probability made by some subsequent possessor, in these words: "M'd.—That in Sir Ed. Walker's faer vellum MS., fo. 22, 6, is the manner of Jasper D<sup>e</sup> of Bedfords sitting at dinner." The Duke here referred to was Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, son of Sir Owen Tudor by Katharine, Queen Dowager of Henry V, who was created, on the accession of his nephew, Henry VII, in 1485, Duke of Bedford; but he, like his predecessors in the title, died, in 1497, without issue to inherit it; and the dukedom consequently again expired, and remained in abeyance for a hundred and fifty years, when it was conferred on the house of Russell. Jasper was a great favourite of Henry VII, and in 1492 accompanied him to the siege of Boulogne. He was also highly esteemed by the Emperor Maximilian. (Speed, 748.)

The Sir Edward Walker, in whose collection the before mentioned "faer vellum MS." was then stated to be, was a native of Somersetshire, Secretary of War in 1639; who adhered to his royal master during the rebellion, and died in 1676, one of the clerks of the Privy Council, Garter King of Arms, and author of "*Iter Carolinum*, being a succinct account of the necessitated marches, retreats, etc., of His Majesty Charles I, etc., military discoveries, etc.," printed in 1705.

There are, however, circumstances connected with these drawings which invest them with an interest of their own, and evince the esteem in which the subjects there represented, as well as the details of the treatment, have been held. They also confirm, to a great extent, the idea that the original pictures to be made from them, if ever painted at all, must have perished very soon after; in which case the belief that their loss is due to the fire at Chelsea, is reasonably sustained. The drawings, as already mentioned, remained at the time of Holbein's departure in the possession of Sir Thomas Wriothesley, for whom, or with whose sanction, they would appear, from the following statement, to have been copied on vellum at some subsequent period; which copy was in existence in 1672, and was even

then so old, in appearance at least, as to be considered and dealt with as a curiosity. Thus, Elias Ashmole, of the Middle Temple, Esq., Windsor Herald at Arms, appears to have seen it, and deemed it of so much importance as to have had it engraved by the time-honoured Wenceslaus Hollar as an illustration for Ashmole's *Institution, Laws, and Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* (London, 1672), a fine copy of which I have now the privilege to lay before you. On reference to the engravings, they will be found identical in treatment with the drawings. The following observation upon them appears in page 404 of the book: "We have had the perusal of a faer vellum manuscript, wherein there is very curiously limned the order and manner of Maximilian the first, king of the Romans; his sitting at dinner on the day of his investiture, with the habit and ensigns of the order; together with Sir Charles Somerset and Sir Thomas Wriothesley, sent in the embassy to provide him therewith; as also the order observed of sitting at dinner by Don Ferdinand, Prince of Spain, Archduke of Austria, on the like solemn occasion; the Lord Morley and Sir William Hussey sitting on his left hand, and Doctor Lee and the said Sir Thomas Wriothesley on his left; these four being joined in the commission of legation to him; which two draughts, for antiquities sake, we have copied thence, and thought good here to exhibit."

Following humbly the example of Ashmole, I have this evening enjoyed a pleasure denied to him, viz., to present to your notice the *original drawings* of Holbein, of which the "vellum copy," seen a hundred and forty-five years after, was then deemed worthy to be identified with the great and deservedly distinguished volume of Ashmole; and, after the lapse of so many years, to accord to the illustrious artist the merit due to him, and add two more to the list of those works of art with which his name is so inseparably connected. Time forbids my now entering upon such a descriptive account of their details as they richly merit; but on some future occasion I will, with your sanction, invite your attention to them, as therefrom we may derive a correct insight into many curious customs and habits of our forefathers of the sixteenth century, here correctly delineated by the masterly genius of Hans Holbein.



## SOPEWELL PRIORY AND THE "BOOK OF ST. ALBAN'S."

BY A. SADLER, ESQ.

AT a small distance to the south-west of St. Alban's stand the deserted ruins of Sopwell or Sopedwell Priory, once a religious house, where a small number of saintly maidens found a safe retreat from the "hubble bubble, toil and trouble," of this wicked world. Old chroniclers inform us that this Priory was founded, in 1140, by Geoffrey de Gorham, then abbot of St. Alban's. Two women, whose names have been long since forgotten, came to Eiwood, and there, by the side of the river Ver, put together a rude kind of hermitage. In this humble abode, formed of branches of trees, and covered with bark and leaves, they dwelt until the fame of their abstinent, chaste, charitable, and religious lives reached the ears of the above mentioned Geoffrey, abbot of St. Alban's. Touched with their self-denial, their piety, and their active virtues, the good abbot built a cell for them, causing them to be clothed and to live according to the rule of Benedictine nuns. This new foundation, according to the same old chronicler, received the name of Sopwell from a spring in which the two holy women had been wont to dip their bread,—a most unpalatable derivation. But the good abbot extended his benevolence still further, for he granted them lands and rents sufficient for the maintenance of sixteen sisters, "all select virgins." To be sure he did not pay any very great compliment to the "uneasy virtue" of the inmates of this cell, for on the ground of preserving their fame from the attacks of scandal, he ordered that they should be always locked up in their house, and made some other rules which considerably interfered with the liberty of the subject. He also gave them permission to bury within the precincts of their nunnery; but only members of the house, not strangers,—his liberality not going the length of a grant, which might have helped to enrich their shrine at the expense of his own.

Such is the origin of Sopwell Priory as described by Matthew of Paris; but it is not strictly accurate in the date he assigns to the foundation of the house. The two holy women must have soaked their bread in the well long before the

time of Abbot Geoffrey, for we find that as early as the reign of William the Conqueror, three quarters of a century before Geoffrey, the cell was *rebuilt* by a hermit named Roger, and that a gentleman of the name of Albeney granted some land to the ladies of the cell of Sopwell. So that though Geoffrey may have rebuilt the house, regulated the constitution of the nuns, and otherwise have been their benefactor, he does not appear to have been a contemporary of the holy bread-soaking women, nor yet the founder of the religious house.

How long the nuns continued to live under lock and key is not recorded; but in 1328 Michael de Mentmore, abbot of St. Alban's, at a visitation of Sopwell Priory, promulgated certain rules for the regulation of the nuns, enjoining a stricter order and observance than had been practised for some time. These rules may serve as an index to certain shortcomings of the saintly sisterhood at that period: thus, for instance, it was found necessary to enjoin them to attend Mass, and to observe silence in the church, the cloister, the refectory, and the dormitory. It was further enacted that the nuns should get up in the morning when the bell rang; that the garden door should not be opened for walking till the hour of prime, and in summer till the hour of none, and always to be shut at curfew; that no nun was to hold conversation with secular persons in the parlour, without being covered with her cowl and veil; that the nuns were not to lodge out of the convent, nor guests to be lodged in the dormitory; that tailors and other men should work in some place assigned to them outside the monastery, and have no admission into the chambers or any other private places in the house; and some other less significant rules.

The foundation, in course of time, increased in property and worldly welfare, and early in the fifteenth century appears to have been considered sufficiently fashionable to become the retreat of a daughter of royalty. We find, namely, that in 1429 Margaret, Duchess of Clarence,<sup>1</sup> renouncing the world, its pomp, and its vanities, made a regular profession, and was admitted to the rule of Sopwell. It is also stated that in the chapel of this nunnery Henry VIII married one of his wives, though which of these unhappy ladies it was, I

<sup>1</sup> This lady was a Countess of Holland by birth, and having married the Duke of Clarence was sister-in-law to our King Henry V. Her husband was defeated and killed at the battle of Beaugé.

have not been able to discover. But the time came when the Gospel light dawned upon the king through Anne Bulleyn's eyes, and Sopwell, with the rest of the religious houses, was taken from the nuns, and granted to Sir Richard Lee. His majesty, however, had the conscience to bestow a pension of £6 per ann. on the last prioress, Joan Pygot. At the time of the dissolution the number of saintly sisters had dwindled to nine, and the yearly value of the house was then estimated at £40 : 7 : 10, or according to another authority, at £68 : 8 : 0.

As will be seen from this hasty sketch, the history of the priory offers no particular point of interest; but connected with the establishment is the name of a lady dear to all antiquaries, that of Dame Juliana Berners, one of the earliest female English writers, who is said to have been some time prioress of Sopwell. The biographical particulars concerning this lady are of the most scanty description; even the correct mode of writing her surname is lost in the mist of antiquity, and varies from Berners to Barnes, Barns, and even Benes. She is generally supposed to have been a daughter of Sir James Berners of Roding Berners, now vulgarly called Bernish Roding, in the hundred of Dunmow, in the county of Essex, and to have been sister of Sir Richard Berners, who was created Lord Berners by Henry IV. Thus, if this be her true genealogy, she would have been maternal great-grand-aunt of John Bouchier, Lord Berners, the accomplished translator of Froissart. The family of Berners was one of considerable honour and antiquity in Essex, and could count up its ancestors to Hugh de Berners, a contemporary of the Norman conqueror. Juliana's father, however, Sir James, was beheaded in 1388, as one of the evil counsellors of his imbecile master, Richard II; and by the same attainder his estates were confiscated. These appear to be the only particulars which can now be traced concerning this lady; and even they have been doubted, as the pedigree of the Berners family makes no mention of her; and neither the county historians of Hertfordshire, nor, indeed, any other writers, have found any notice of her in documents. The title, "Dame," given her in one of her works, has sometimes been brought forward as a proof of her nobility; but that title was a very vague one, and does not appear to have denoted either rank, age, or character. In the old chronicles

we find it given to the frail Alice Pierce, and to Margaret, the virgin sister of Edward IV, whilst at a not much later period it was given to the wives of tradespeople and citizens. Still it may be noticed that in the order of the Benedictine nuns to which Juliana belonged, there were, and I believe are still, two classes of nuns: the one distinguished by the title of "dames," the other by that of "lay-sisters." The "dames," also called "choir-nuns," were principally ladies of birth and fortune, who paid for their own maintenance, whilst the "lay-sisters," born in the more humble ranks of life, waited on the "dames," and performed menial services in the house. The rules of admission, etc., were the same for both; and a "lay-sister" might be advanced to the honour of the choir, and even be elected a prioress, either of which distinctions entitled her to the title of "dame."

It has generally been asserted, upon what foundation I know not, that Dame Juliana became prioress of Sopwell about 1460; but this would hardly be compatible with her filial relation to Sir James Berners. That gentleman was beheaded in 1388, so that Juliana in 1460 could not have been less than seventy-two years of age. As a rule, the prioresses were selected not too far advanced in life to perform the duties of their office in person, and when they were disqualified by age they were removed. It is evident, therefore, that we must assign a somewhat earlier period to the commencement of the priorate of Dame Juliana; nor does there seem to be any fact which militates against this assumption.

From an abbess disposed to become an authoress we might have expected a manual of meditations for the closet, the life of some saint, or choice rules for making preserves and distilling essences or strong waters. But Dame Juliana chose a very different field of labour. General opinion attributes to her pen a collection of treatises known as the *Book of St. Alban's*, and relating to hawking, hunting, fishing, and heraldry. There are reasons to suppose, however, that she merely wrote a small portion of the treatise on hawking, the whole of the treatise on hunting, and a short list of beasts of the chase; to which, in the second edition of the work, were added a treatise on heraldry and one on fishing. It will be observed that this syllabus embraces an extensive range of information, which could hardly have been collected

by a lady living in the seclusion of a nunnery. To this we will reply with the objection made by the last editor of Juliana's works, Mr. Hazlewood, one of the choice spirits of the Roxburghe Club. "Why should it be believed," asks he, "that our authoress passed her whole life immured in a cloister?" And throwing the bridle on the neck of his Pegasus, he proceeds as follows: "Let us suppose her educated in a convent, her 'teens' passed with her relations in the vicinity of the court;<sup>1</sup> at times partaking of the amusements of the field, then a favourite pursuit with ladies of family; forming a commonplace book, according to the literary plan of that period, on various subjects; from disappointment retiring to a cloister, where an advancement to the office of superior commonly attended noble connexions; amidst the hours of listless solitude either seeking amusement by the translation of a treatise upon hunting from the French language, or versifying the general rules of the sport from her own collections, whereby it became set forth with the affixture of Dame Juliana Berners."

With this flight of Mr. Hazlewood's imagination we will dismiss the subject of Dame Juliana's claim upon the works attributed to her. Suffice it to say that so highly esteemed were these treatises, and so popular were the subjects, that they were printed in the infancy of the typographic art. St. Alban's has the honour of being the second place in England where that art was put into practice; and Dame Juliana's two treatises are said to have there appeared in print as early as 1481, and a second edition in 1486. Who the printer was is not known. An early Hertfordshire antiquary, Sir Henry Chauncy, has been pleased to christen him "John Insomuch," apparently upon no better authority than because the first words of the *St. Alban's Chronicle*, printed in 1483, are, "*Insomuch* that it is necessary," etc. That the said printer was a monk appears probable, and that he was "sometime a schoolmaster" is expressly stated by Wynkyn de Worde in his reprint of the *St. Alban's Chronicle* in 1497. Antiquarians have been fondly dreaming that this schoolmaster had learned the art of printing from Caxton. They took a bland delight in fancying a resemblance between the type of Caxton and the St. Alban's printing schoolmaster,

<sup>1</sup> Lady Berners, her supposed mother, had given her a stepfather in the person of Sir Roger Clarendon, a natural son of the Black Prince.

and at once concluded that Caxton kindly lent him his types. Unfortunately for this touching theory, the resemblance is merely general: the types are two different species of the same genus. Caxton's type is much more correct and elegant in its character; and the early specimens of St. Alban's printing may be classed amongst the rudest productions of the typographic art in the fifteenth century. As to Caxton lending his types, how could the worthy man, as early as 1480, when he had only just commenced his career at Westminster, contrive to lend this supposed friend of his a press and fount of letters? It seems a much more rational conclusion that Caxton, Lettou, Machlinia, the St. Alban's printer, and a few others, all imported their particular founts and types from the same place, viz. from the Low Countries.

After this digression we will return to the *Book of St. Alban's*, and cast a cursory glance at the different treatises attributed to Dame Juliana. That about hawking contains the complete pathology of the hawk. She takes up the bird from the egg, in which shape, she informs the uninitiated, the hawk commences his worldly existence. "First they ben egges, and afterward they ben hawkes." She further gives precepts for training them, and explains the "kindly speech of hawking"; i. e., the sporting slang of the falconers. The first process in training a hawk is rather cruel; and though the gentle dame often talks of "loving your hawk," it puts one in mind of Izaak Walton's love for the frog he used as bait, skinning him alive, or something of that kind, "as though you loved him." According to our sporting prioress, as soon as the wild hawk is caught she must be *ensiled*, which was done as follows: take a needle and thread, and put it through her upper eyelid, and the same through the under eyelid, and fasten the thread to her beak, so that she cannot see. Cast her on a perch, and let her remain there for a day and a night without food; and on the second day cut the thread, and begin to feed her. Fortunately the rest of the hawk's education was effected by means less cruel; and these happy birds were certainly much better provided for, and taken care of, than were the poor of the period. The hawk's food consisted, in a great measure, of pork and chickens; and, in the reign of Henry VIII, was so choice, that Sir Thomas Elyott, in his book of *The Governour* (1531), described it as "right delectable solace," and laments

that the more valuable races of domestic poultry were almost threatened with extinction in order to provide food for the hawks. With regard to the "kindly language," the sporting slang, every part, however minute, of the body of the bird, every one of his motions and actions, had its own peculiar name: thus no less than four terms were used to describe the different parts of the beak; and to use any but the consecrated term, was, in the opinion of sportsmen, a crime without benefit of clergy. How the quiet nun came to know this sporting vocabulary used by huntsmen and falconers is a mystery, even supposing that she had followed the hounds and the hawks in her time. It is possible, however, that the good lady in her cell merely translated the book from the French or Latin, and that her brothers or relations furnished her with the appropriate terms of the art.

No inconsiderable part of this treatise is taken up by the evils and complaints hawk's flesh is heir to, in the long catalogue of which we perceive that the "penalty of Adam" is inflicted upon these birds in the shape of worms, cramps in the wings and thighs, gout in the throat, the head, and the reins, podagra, cough, rhumes, the stone, disease of the heart, etc., etc. The authoress dwells with professional delight on successive nauseous phenomena of these complaints, and gives instructions how to mitigate and cure them. The ingredients of her pharmacopœia are not a little curious, and comprise the flesh and blood of peacocks, the skin of a snake tempered in blood, the lard of a goat, the pulverised breast-bone of a hen, a decoction or stew of adders, sheep's blood, the skin of a hare, a fried black snake, the fat of a peacock, the flesh of a cat, alum, roots of rushes, cuttings of the vine, cinnamon, cloves, ginger, etc. Gout in the throat was cured by making the hawk eat a hedgehog,—rather a poignant remedy; cramp in the foot was alleviated by the blood-letting of that member; and other complaints were assuaged by medicaments so curious that they cannot be mentioned to ears polite.

The second treatise relates to hunting. It is hitched into rhyme, but bears no resemblance to poetry, being sufficiently jolting to set a ballad-singer's teeth on edge. The claim of the prioress to this work is unimpeached, the editor of the *Book of St. Alban's* having affixed her name to it as "Dame Julyans Barnes." It is a mere collection of tech-

nicalities and instructions how, when, and where to hunt. From the hunter's point of view the beasts of the field are divided into three classes,—beasts of *venery*, beasts of *chace*, and *rascalls*. The beasts of venery are four,—the hart, the hare, the boar, and the wolf; which last animal, however, it will be remembered, had already become extinct in England in the reign of King Edgar. The beasts of the chase are the buck, the doe, the marten, and the wild roe. All the other animals come under the denomination of "rascalls." She then proceeds to enumerate the names given to the hart according to its age; then follows the mode of hunting different game, and the dog-language used in various emergencies,—a barbarous Norman-French jargon used to encourage and guide the hounds; regular dog-French, if not dog-Latin. Next come the methods of cutting up the game; and the novice is informed that he must take the suet out of the hart, as it is "good for leechcraft," *i. e.*, medicine; and is further told that

"In the midst of the hart a bone ye shall find,  
Look you give it a lord; and, child be kind,  
For it is kind for many maladies."

After the above prolix poem, which numbers six hundred and six verses, there follow some smaller pieces, consisting in an enumeration of the animals of the chase and vermin, the properties of a good greyhound and of a good horse, a collection of proverbs, the technical names given to congregations of animals, the appropriate terms for carving game and venison, and the names of the shires and bishoprics in England. Finally there occurs a ballad upon the wickedness and ingratitude of mankind; but this piece was merely added by Wynkyn de Worde, in order to fill up a page which remains in blank in the St. Alban's edition. And with this *omnium gatherum* Dame Juliana appears to have exhausted the whole stock of her learning, which, it must be admitted, was very superior to that of contemporary ladies.

Both these treatises bear more or less internal evidence of having been written by a monastic lady. We fancy we recognise the mother-prioress in the artless arrangement of the subject, the deficient versification, and the frequent parental appeals to her readers, whom she instructs *ex cathedra*, with the air of one accustomed to lay down the law. But in the next piece, which treats of heraldry, or "the line-

age of coat-armour," as the unknown author calls it, the style is totally different; the address to the reader is dropped, the language more correct and scholastic, and the translation evidently better than in the avowed specimens of Dame Juliana. Though, in accordance with the spirit of the times, the explanations are intricate and far-fetched, yet there is a certain system in the arrangement of the subject. Most of the general rules or positions are subdivided into nine instances of specific difference, and four or five of them usually opposed to each other. The author commences by proving, by a curious argumentation, that Adam and Eve were "gentles" in their own right. With their children, however, commenced the division of mankind into gentlemen and churls. The gentry descended from Seth, the churls from Cain. With the flood the progeny of Cain came to grief, and there was an end of churldom, till unfortunately Noah's son Cham, by his irreverent conduct, became the head of a new race of churls, the descendants of which have been perpetuated up to the present day. In a similar manner he touches upon a host of other subjects, mystical or symbolical, connected with heraldry, too long to mention. In the original edition of the book there followed next a treatise on the "Blasing of Arms," which in the Westminster edition of 1496 was placed at the end; thus interpolating the treatise on "Fishing," and unnecessarily separating two parts of the same work. This chapter on "Blazoning" is principally a translation of a work written by Nicholas Upton in 1441. Want of time compels me to pass it by in silence, though it is replete with amusing curiosities.

We now come to the best and most entertaining treatise in the collection. It relates to "Angling," and is evidently by another hand than the former. The treatise on "Hawking," we have seen, is entirely composed of instructions to the falconer, and recipes promiscuously gathered and noted down without order. That on "Hunting" is a mere string of technicalities. Neither of them shows any attempt at adornment, nor do they contain any judicious or sentimental remark similar to those which occur at the beginning and the end of the tract on fishing. The present treatise commences with a parable of Solomon, "A good spirit maketh a flowering age," which leads to a discussion of the question, what are "good dysportis" and "honest gamys," and enforces the mild principles

by right of her husband's official condition, priority of place before Mistress Frowick, the wife of the steward of the borough; and his judgment concludes with the following apothegm: "Not degree, but virtue, maketh a good man; not dignity, but honesty."

*Copy of the Writ mentioned at p. 145.*

"Pro Katerina filia Walteri Passavant.—Monstravit Regi Walterus Passavant quod cum Katerina filia Nicholai Schove in villa Sancti Albani aperiendo hostium, per infortunium impulit Editham filiam ipsius Nicholai juniorem se in quandam lagenam plenam aque calide, ita quod postea decessit, et propter hoc prefata Katerina carceri Abbatis Sancti Albani est mancipata. Et mandatum est Vic. Hertford. quod si ita sit, tunc prefatam Katerinam a prefato carcere sine dilacione fac. deliberari, quia Rex totum sibi pardonavit. Teste ut supra." (Claus. 33 Hen. III, m. 5, A.D. 1248-9.)

## THE EARLS OF WORCESTER AND HERTFORD.

BY J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., SOMERSET HERALD, V.P.

IT is rather a fortunate circumstance that a Hertfordshire Congress should succeed in due order to one in Gloucestershire, as the Earldoms of the two counties were so intimately connected during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, that in discussing the one of which it is now "my hint to speak," I am enabled to continue my account of the other from the point at which I left it, viz., the death of William, son of Robert de Caen, commonly called Consul, the second and last Earl of Gloucester of that family. Dying without surviving male issue, his estates and honours were divided between his three daughters and co-heirs. To Prince, afterwards King, John, son of Henry II, he bequeathed the Earldom of Gloucester, having bestowed upon him the hand of his youngest daughter, Isabel; but she, being divorced by John on the plea of consanguinity, Almeric de Montfort, third of that name, Count of Evereux in Normandy, became Earl of Gloucester in right of his wife Mabel,<sup>1</sup> the eldest

<sup>1</sup> Dugdale and Brooke, uncontradicted by Vincent, make Mabel the mother of this Almeric; but the authors of *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates* show this to be impossible. The father of Almeric the third was Simon de Montfort, surnamed the Bald, Count d'Evereux, who died in 1181, having married, first, a lady

daughter of Earl William ; Almeric dying without issue, A.D. 1206, the Earldom was next bestowed on Geoffrey de Magnaville or Mandeville, who had married Isabel, the divorced wife of King John ; and she also dying without issue, it passed ultimately to Richard de Clare, Earl of Hertford, the husband of Amicia, the second daughter and coheir ; and thence descended, in conjunction with the Earldom of Hertford, in that great family for several generations.

The pedigree of the Clares, as set down by the genealogists both ancient and modern, bristles with errors, contradictions, and unauthorised assertions ; and I rejoice that I have on this occasion to deal only with a special branch of it. There is quite enough confusion in it for me to encounter at one time, and more than I shall be able, I fear, to clear up satisfactorily at present, though I trust I may throw a little light upon one or two points of importance, and call the attention of antiquaries, who happily enjoy more leisure than I do, to others that demand closer investigation.

At the very outset arises a question to which I have hitherto been unable to meet with a satisfactory answer.

The first of the Clares who wrote himself Earl of Hertford is said to have been Richard, eldest son of Gilbert de Tonbridge, by his wife Adeliza, who is stated by Guillaume de Jumièges to have been the daughter of a Comte de Clermont,<sup>1</sup> and grandson of Richard Fitz-Gilbert, the founder of

named Mahant or Maude, whose parentage is unknown, and by whom he had no issue ; and, secondly, Amietta, daughter of Robert de Beaumont, Earl of Leicester (*Mon. Ang.*, i, p. 312), by whom he had this Almeric, who succeeded him ; Simon, Seigneur de Montfort ; Gui, Seigneur de la Forté-Alais en Beauce ; Bertrade, wife of Hugh Kevilioc, Earl of Chester ; Perronelle, wife of Bartholomew de Raye ; and Guiburge, married to Gui De Levis, Baron de Mirepoix. His eldest son, the aforesaid Almeric, married first Mabel, eldest daughter and coheir of William Earl of Gloucester ; and, secondly, Miliscent, daughter of Hugh Gurney ; who, after his death, became the wife of William de Cantelupe, and mother, by him, of Thomas, Bishop of Hereford.

<sup>1</sup> " Gislebertus ex filia Comitibus de Claremont habuit tres filios, Richardum qui ei successit, et Gislebertum et Walterium, et unam filiam nomine Rohais." (*Lib. vii, cap. 37.*) It would be desirable to affiliate this wife of Gilbert more distinctly, by showing which of the Counts of Clermont was her father. According to Père Anselmo (*Hist. Généalogique*) she was the daughter of Hugh, first Comte de Clermont en Beauvoisis, by his wife Marguerite de Rouey, daughter of Hildouin, fourth Comte de Rouey, and Alex. de Chastillon ; but though he states this in the genealogy of Clare, he gives no such daughter to Count Hugh in that of Clermont, naming only three daughters,—1, Ermontrude, wife of Hugh, Earl of Chester ; 2, Richilde, wife of Dreux, second Seigneur de Mello ; and 3, Emma, wife of Matthieu, first Comte de Beaumont sur l'Oise. The fact of her parentage depends, therefore, at present on the statement of Guillaume

the family, who received from William the Conqueror the Lordships of Tonbridge in Kent, and of Clare in Suffolk ; but how or when the title was bestowed upon him has never yet been ascertained. In a charter bearing date 1124, the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Henry I, by which this Richard gives the Hermitage of Standun to the monks at Stoke, he styles himself "Ricardus de Clara comes Hertfordiæ." This charter, however, is witnessed by another Richard de Clare, who calls himself "fratri comitis Rogeri." Now the only Earl Roger de Clare (for a de Clare he must have been if this witness was his brother) was the second son of Earl Richard aforesaid, and did not become Earl till after the death of his elder brother Gilbert, in 1152, twenty-eight years subsequent to the date of the charter. That there is some important error here I think there can be no doubt, but I see no way to correct it. The only explanation that occurs to me is, may it not be an *extract* from a charter of inspeximus by Earl Roger after his accession to that dignity, the preamble being omitted, and only the words of the original grant in 1124, and the names of the witnesses to its confirmation in 1152, entered in the register. Such a circumstance is just possible : but I have nothing in the shape of evidence to give support to the suggestion.

Banks, without quoting his authority, says Richard de Clare was made Earl of Hertford by King Stephen ; and certainly in the Pipe-roll of 1131, the thirtieth of Henry First's reign, in the return made by the sheriffs for the county of Hertford, Richard de Clare is simply called Richard Fitz-Gilbert, nor is there any allusion throughout it to an earldom. This fact, however, cannot be considered conclusive evidence against his having been an earl at that period, for, as I have already mentioned in my paper on the Earls of Devon, the omission of titles is not uncommon in ancient documents ; but still, in the absence of all proof on the other side, save that contained in the questionable charter dated 1124, it deserves consideration.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand I must

de Jumièges, and the authenticity of a note appended to her charter in the Register of Thorney Abbey, and thus printed by Dugdale : "Adelicia de Claramonte dicta (folio 11, cap. 9, parte 4)." The charter itself commences thus : "Adeliz mater Comitis Gilberti omnibus amicis et hominibus suis Francie et Anglie salutem," etc.; and ends with "Sciendum est anterior hæc esse facta coram Comite Gilberti et Waltero frater ejus." But we have yet to identify her as the daughter of Count Hugh the first.

<sup>1</sup> It is remarkable also that his mother, Adeliza, in the charter I have quoted,

remark that Richard was killed in a skirmish with the Welsh very early in the reign of Stephen—according to the majority of the chroniclers in 1139, the fourth of that reign—but Mr. Stapleton says in 1136-7, the first year of Stephen; so that if he was made earl by Stephen, it must have been immediately after the accession of that sovereign.

Guillaumedes Jumièges, who gives the descent of this family very clearly in his thirty-seventh chapter, tells us that this Richard, whom, by the way, he does not style earl of any place, “married the sister of Ranulf the younger, Earl of Chester, and had issue by her three sons, Gilbert, who succeeded him, and his brothers”<sup>1</sup>—not naming the latter, one of whom we know to have been Roger, whom I have already spoken of; and the third we shall find to have been named Richard.

First, however, about the wife. She is not named by the Monk of Jumièges, and in early pedigrees she is only set down as the sister of Ranulph-Gernons, Earl of Chester. Brooke, uncontradicted by Vincent, calls her Adeliza, but quotes no authority. A writer in the *Collectanea Topographica Genealogica*, vol. i, p. 388, imagined he had discovered her name in a charter in the register of Bury St. Edmunds, but I shall presently contend that he was mistaken. I have not been fortunate enough to light upon any document which would support Brooke’s assertion, but in the absence of any proof to the contrary believe him to be right, as she had a daughter named Alicia, which is only a variation of Adeliza or Adelia; who might, it is true, have been named after her grandmother, but I am inclined to think it was

calls herself mother of Earl Gilbert, who was her second son by Gilbert de Clare, and first Earl of Pembroke of that family; and in another charter to St. Mary and St. Botolf of Thorney (*Mon. Ang.*, i, p. 245), she more distinctly identifies herself thus: “Adeliza uxor Gilberti filii Ricardi & Gilbertus & Walterus & Baldwinus & Rohaisia pueri”; the instrument being witnessed by “Gilberto filio Gilberti, Galterio, Hervæo, Baldwinus fratribus ejus.” In neither does she name Richard, her eldest son, who, had he been an earl, would have been surely mentioned before Earl Gilbert, her second son; omitting also her third son, John, but distinctly enumerating his brothers, Gilbert Fitz Gilbert, Walter, Henry, Baldwin, and his sister Rohaisia. It is also evident that she had two other daughters,—Adeliza, wife of Alberic de Vere, and mother, by him, of the first Earl of Oxford (*Book of St. Osyth, Giraldus Cambrensis*, etc.); and Margaret, wife of William Montfitchet, and his widow in 1185, aged sixty and upwards. (*Rot. de Dom.*, sub anno.)

<sup>1</sup> “Ricardus etiam duxit sororem Comitis Ranulfi junioris, Comitis Cestræ, et habuit ex ea tres filios, Gislebertus qui ei successit & fratres ejus.” (*Cap. xxxvii.*)

after her mother. This Alicia was the wife of Cadwalader ap Griffith ap Conan, Prince of North Wales. Another daughter named Maud married William Lord Braose.<sup>1</sup>

To return to the sons. Gilbert, the eldest son, succeeded his father, and died unmarried in 1152, as I have before stated. Segur, in his MSS. Baronage preserved in the College of Arms, has confused this Gilbert with his grandfather, the latter of whom he says was created Earl of Hertford by King Stephen in the fourth year of his reign. Now that was the very year in which, as I have already mentioned, the majority of the chroniclers inform us that Richard, son of this Gilbert, was killed; so that if there be any foundation for the assertion that a Gilbert de Clare was made Earl of Hertford by King Stephen, it must have been the second Gilbert Fitz-Richard, who was the only one of the name at that period. But for the charter to the monks at Stoke, I should not hesitate to consider this second Gilbert to have been the first Earl of Hertford.

And now, as respects that said charter. It is witnessed by a Richard de Clare, who calls himself the brother of *Earl Roger*, and I have shown you that there was no *Earl Roger de Clare* before the period at which we have now arrived, viz., 1152. I have also called your attention to the fact that the third son of Richard, commonly called first Earl of Hertford, was unnamed by contemporary historians; but amongst the witnesses to a charter of Walter Gifford, second Earl of Buckingham, to the Priory of Newington Longueville, ante 1164, we find "Rogerio Comite de Clara, *Ricardo Fratris ejus.*"

Mr. Stapleton, in his observations on the Norman Rolls of the Exchequer, calls him Richard, but without referring us to any authority, a rare circumstance, considering his usual precision in such matters. It is very probable that it was the charter that I have just cited, but it would be more satisfactory to know positively on what grounds Mr. Stapleton came to the conclusion. The continual alternation of the names of Richard and Gilbert in this particular family of Clare tends greatly to confuse the genealogist, and nothing but a rigid verification of dates can preserve us from the most inextricable entanglement.

The charter printed in the *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, to which I recently alluded, is presumed by

<sup>1</sup> *Mon. Ang.*, ii, p. 119: Patent Roll. 17 of John.

its discoverer to give us the baptismal appellation of the daughter of Ranulph, Earl of Chester, who was the wife of Richard Fitz-Gilbert de Clare, and mother of the Earls Gilbert and Roger aforesaid. It is stated to be a grant of lands at Pridinton in Hawkedon, Suffolk, and it certainly runs thus:—"Omnibus fidelibus sancte matris Ecclesiæ, Ricardus filius Gilberti salutem. Sciatis quod ego optuli super altare sancte Eadmundi et ei concessi et donavi in perpetuam elemosinam ad servicium altaris pro animabus dominorum meorum (nominatim Gilberti Comitis de Clara et aliorum et omnium antecessorum meorum, &c.)" It is also witnessed by "Rogerus et etiam filius meam huic interfuit donacioni et eum concessit et conjux mea Xpiana (Christiana)." But the contributor of this interesting charter to the pages of the *Collectanea* has overlooked the date of the document, which is A.D. 1154,<sup>1</sup> when not only the Richard Fitz-Gilbert de Clare, to whom he attributes it, but his eldest son and successor, Gilbert Fitz-Richard, had been gathered to their ancestors, and the Earldom of Hertford was in the possession of Roger Fitz-Richard de Clare, his second son, and heir to his brother. Who the Richard Fitz-Gilbert may have been at that date I cannot presume to say; but there is no proof in the charter that he was even a De Clare.<sup>2</sup> And, at all events, if that date be correct, it could not possibly be the person usually set down as first Earl of Hertford; and consequently the document clears up doubt that may yet exist as to the baptismal name of his wife, daughter of the Earl of Chester.

So many undoubtedly ancient charters have been proved to be early forgeries, that we cannot implicitly rely on any in which there is a discrepancy of date, or assertions which

<sup>1</sup> "Facta est hec autem donacio anno Domini m<sup>o</sup>.c.liiij<sup>to</sup>."

<sup>2</sup> The words ("nominatim Gilberti Comitis de Clara et aliorum & omnium antecessorum meorum") which are the only ground for the assertion, are admitted by the correspondent to have been "supplied from another copy of the charter in the same MS., in a later hand." With the positive contradiction of the date before us, are we justified in believing the later copy to be the most correct, ingeniously as the error is accounted for? Or may we not fairly consider the interpolation a conclusion jumped at by some one misled by the name of Richard Fitz Gilbert? Observe also that the grant is "pro animabus dominorum meorum," and that there is no affiliation whatever. A Gilbert de Clare might have been one of the lords and ancestors of this Richard Fitz Gilbert; but *non constat* that he was his father, or even that he was Gilbert of Tonbridge, the husband of Adeliza de Clermont. Where is the original charter? And who was *Ralph* Fitz Gilbert of *Bowstead*, one of the witnesses,—of which, by the way, there are two batches.

cannot be reconciled with collateral authentic evidence, and naturally less upon copies. The two I have quoted are unfortunately open to suspicion. Neither may be an absolute fabrication. The first I have endeavoured to account for. The other I imagine is simply a misappropriation occasioned by the name of Richard Fitz-Gilbert. Some genealogist who is fortunate enough to have time to spare for the pursuit, may run to earth the veritable granter of Pridinton, and no doubt enviable husband of the fair Christiana. I must confine myself simply to the duty of correcting an error which would, if uncontradicted, imperil the whole pedigree.

Gilbert Fitz-Richard, Earl of Hertford, was succeeded in 1152 by his brother Roger Fitz-Richard, who took to wife Maude, daughter of James de St. Hillarie,<sup>1</sup> by whom he had three sons. Richard, his successor in the earldom, William, James, and two daughters; Mabel, who married Nigel de Moubray,<sup>2</sup> and Eleanor, wife of John Guy of Waterton.<sup>3</sup> Neither in Dugdale nor Banks do we find any mention of the younger sons of Roger or of these daughters; the former giving him only a daughter named Isabella, evidently confounded with the daughter of his grandson Gilbert, of whom presently.<sup>4</sup>

Roger Fitz-Richard, Earl of Hertford, died in 1173, and was succeeded by his eldest son Richard Fitz-Roger de Clare, Earl of Hertford, who married Amicia, daughter, and eventually sole heir to her father, William, Earl of Gloucester. By this great heiress he had one son, Gilbert, and two daughters; Joan, who became the wife of Rhoy Griffyn, Prince of South Wales; and Maud, of whom we hear no more. The Earl died 8th of John, A.D. 1206, and his only son Gilbert succeeded to all the titles and possessions of his father, greatly increased by the marriage with Amicia, in whose right he became Earl of Gloucester as well as of Hertford; and added again largely to the fortunes and

<sup>1</sup> Père Anselme gives him another wife, a daughter of Payen, Viscount of Shrewsbury, whom he repudiated, and married, *secondly*, Maude de St. Hillaire.

<sup>2</sup> *Mon. Ang.*, ii, p. 193, where she is absurdly called "filiam *Edmundi* Comitiss de Clare."

<sup>3</sup> Segur MS. Barouage, Coll. Arm.

<sup>4</sup> Under "Mowbray," however, he mentions this Mabel as "daughter to the Earl of Clare" (*Barouage*, i, p. 124; and see also *Monasticon*, ii, p. 193b, *ut supra*.)

dignities of his family by marrying Isabella, third daughter and co-heir of William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke.

This Gilbert Fitz-Richard, first Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, was one of the principal barons opposed to the tyranny of King John ; and, fighting on the side of Louis, the Dauphin of France, was taken prisoner at the battle of Lincoln ; but afterwards made his peace with the young King Henry III, and died in the fourteenth year of the reign of that sovereign, A.D. 1230, leaving three sons, Richard, William,<sup>1</sup> and Gilbert ; and three daughters—Amicia, wife of Baldwin, fourth Earl of Devon ; Agnes, who died young ; and Isabel, wife of Robert de Bratz.<sup>2</sup> His widow, the Countess Isabella, re-married within twelve-months of his decease with Richard, Earl of Cornwall, the King's brother.

Richard Fitz-Gilbert de Clare, second Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, was a minor at the time of his father's decease, and in the wardship of Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent, who, with the connivance, as it is reported, of his wife, married the young Earl clandestinely to his daughter Margaret, to the great displeasure of the King, who had designed him for another. A divorce was obtained through the King's influence, and the young Earl was married in the following year to Maude, daughter of John de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln.

In 1238 (forty-second of Henry III), Richard, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, was, with his brother William, poisoned by Walter de Scoteny, the Earl's chief councillor. William died, but the Earl recovered, only to perish by a similar piece of perfidy four years afterwards, poison having been administered to him at a banquet given by Peter, Count of Savoy, the Queen's uncle (forty-sixth of Henry III, A.D. 1262).<sup>3</sup> By his wife, Maud de Lacy, Earl Richard

<sup>1</sup> William calls his mother Mary ; but this Mary was not his mother, but his mother-in-law, Mary, daughter to William Lord Ross of Hamplake.

<sup>2</sup> Miller adds, Susannah married to Gwynwyne, lord of Powys. The books of Tewkesbury and Barlinge, however, do not name her, although we gather from them the precise dates of the births of the other children, viz., Richard, born 11 nones of August, 1222 ; William, 15 kalends of June, 1227 ; Gilbert, 2 ides of September, 1229. Amicia was the first born of the family, 11 kalends of June, 1220 ; and was married to Baldwin, in 1226, at the early age of six ; the year in which her sister, Isabella, was born, on the 4th of November, the bridegroom himself being under age. (*Vide* Pipe and Fine Rolls, 11 Henry III.)

<sup>3</sup> Buried at Tewkesbury, under a superb monument erected to him by his widow, Maude de Lacy.

left four sons—Gilbert, Thomas,<sup>1</sup> Beavis or Bogo de Clare, Treasurer of York Minster (*vide* vol. xviii of our *Journal*, pp. 67, 372, and Roger, and two daughters; Rose, married to Roger de Mowbray, Viscount of Northampton, who died at Ghent A.D. 1299, father of John, who continued the line;<sup>2</sup> and Margaret, wife of Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, son of Richard, King of the Romans.<sup>3</sup> Mathew of Paris gives Earl Richard a high character, under the date of 1253, speaking of him as young, handsome, eloquent, prudent, and well-skilled in the laws of the land; and such a man in all respects, that the hopes of all the nobles of England rested confidently in his bosom, and he possessed the favour and good-will of all. He accuses him, however, of being of an avaricious disposition, which dreadfully clouded his nobility; and tells us that the King, smelling out his cupidity (for the Earl had been under his guardianship for several years), thus addressed him:—"My dear Earl, I will no longer conceal from you the secret desire of my heart, which is to raise and enrich you, and to advance your interests by marrying your eldest son to the daughter of Guy, Count of Angoulême, my uterine brother. And to you I will prove my munificence by giving you five thousand marks, with which your daughter-in-law will be raised to a level with royalty, as is suitable to a lady of regal extraction."

This eldest son Gilbert, commonly called "the Red," on the decease of his father in 1262, succeeded him as third Earl of Gloucester and Hertford; and either from distaste, the unpopularity of her countrymen, or, what is more probable, the failure of issue after thirty years cohabitation, he obtained a divorce from Alicia, the daughter of the Count of Angoulême, to whom he had been married, as I have mentioned, during the life-time of his father (A.D. 1257), and contracted another marriage with Joan, commonly called of Acres, daughter of King Edward I (A.D. 1290), by whom he

<sup>1</sup> Who married Julian, daughter and coheir of Maurice Fitz Maurice Fitz Gerald.

<sup>2</sup> *Mon. Ang.*, ii, p. 193, "Roscam sororem Dom. Gillberti Comitis Gloucestris." Roger, Lord Mowbray, was the great-grandson of the Nigel de Mowbray who married her grandfather's aunt, Mabel. John de Mowbray, the eldest son and heir of Roger and Rose, was born 2 Nov. 14 Edward I. (*Dugdale, Baronage*, i, p. 126, "apud Vet. Memb. penes Ingleby de Repley in Com. Ebor.") This Rose de Clare has been misrepresented by Dugdale as the daughter of Richard, her great-grandfather!

<sup>3</sup> Some add two more daughters,—Isabella, married to the Marquis de Monteferreto; and Eglantine. But query authority.

had a son named after him, Gilbert, and three daughters—Alionora, Margaret, and Elizabeth, of whom hereafter.

Although one of the commanders of the rebel army at the battle of Lewes, in which King Henry and his son Prince Edward were taken prisoners, he assisted the Prince to escape, and fought on the royal side in the decisive battle of Evesham, when Simon de Montford was killed, and the insurgent barons utterly defeated. Earl Gilbert "the Red," died twenty-fourth of Edward I, 1295, leaving his only son, Gilbert, an infant of four years old. This Gilbert was the last Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, and fell, in the flower of his youth, on the fatal field of Bannockbourne, leaving no surviving issue by his wife, Maud, daughter of Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, his only child, John de Clare, having died in infancy, whereby his three sisters before mentioned became his heirs, viz., 1. Alionora, wife, first, of Hugh le Despencer the younger, and secondly, of William, Lord Zouche, of Mortimer; 2. Margaret, widow of Piers Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall, who re-married with Hugh de Audeley; and 3. Elizabeth, who was married, first to her mother's brother John, son and heir of Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster; secondly, to Theobald de Verdon; and thirdly, to Roger Damory.<sup>1</sup>

In the division of these honours and estates, the Earldom of Gloucester was given to Hugh Audeley, the second husband of Margaret de Clare; and that of Hertford merged in the crown, and lay dormant until the time of Henry VIII, who, in the twenty-ninth year of his reign, bestowed it on Edward Seymour, Viscount Beauchamp, afterwards, by Edward VI, created Duke of Somerset, the great Lord-Protector, who was beheaded in the fifth year of the same reign. His son Edward was deprived of all his hereditary honours and estates, but on the accession of Queen Elizabeth was created by her Earl of Hertford and Baron Seymour; and dying in 1620, was succeeded by his grandson William, the son of his eldest son Edward, deceased in his lifetime; and being created Marquis of Hertford by Charles I on the 3rd

<sup>1</sup> A fourth husband has been accredited to her by some genealogists, who have, to use Vincent's expression, "shoed the lady's horse all round"; but it is more probable that she has been confounded with Elizabeth de Burgh, her daughter, by John Earl of Ulster, who married John Lord Bardolph, and her granddaughter, Elizabeth de Burgh, daughter of her son, William Earl of Ulster, who married Lionel Duke of Clarence.

of June, 1641, the lesser title of Earl ceases to appear in the succeeding generations.

Our interest in it as archæologists expired, in fact, with the last of the Clares who bore it: that powerful family, whose pedigree has been so confusedly handed down to us. Let us, at the same time, do justice to the earlier labourers in the field of genealogy. The virulent attack of Mr. Hornby upon Dugdale is, to say the least of it, exceeding ungenerous. That there are manifold errors in "The Baronage" of that venerable antiquary nobody disputes, and any correction of them is deserving of our best thanks, but never let us forget the immense service the author of it has rendered to subsequent genealogists. The mass of information accumulated in the works of Dugdale cannot be too highly estimated. To him and to all similar pioneers in archæology our deepest gratitude is due; and while as anxious as any one to correct errors and clear up apparent contradictions, I own with pride and pleasure my infinite obligations to the learned, industrious, and honest antiquaries who have preceded me.

As a herald, it may be expected I should say a few words respecting the armorial bearings of the family of Clare. There can be no doubt that from the earliest date of hereditary insignia, the Clares bore first, *or chevronny gules*, and reduced the chevrons to three, in conformity with the fashion of the time, differenced in some branches by a label of five points *azure*.<sup>1</sup> But I have already pointed out to you, in my previous paper on the Earls of Gloucester, as well as in my "Pursuivant of Arms," that I believe the clarions which have been appropriated to Robert and William, Earls of Gloucester, to have been a canting coat of Clare, or of the Lordship of Glamorgan, as undoubtedly those Earls never used armorial insignia. I have only to add upon the present occasion that there is a coat attributed to this family by some heralds for which I have never yet found an authority, *viz.*, *argent*, a canton *gules*. And Sandford, in his Genealogical History, informs us that Lionel, third son of King Edward III, having married Elizabeth de Burgh, acquired

<sup>1</sup> I must not omit to mention that a seal attributed to Richard de Clare, second Earl of Gloucester (preserved amongst the Cotton MSS., Brit. Mus., marked "Julius, C. 7") displays a cross bottony; the only exception that I am aware of, and for which I am at present unable to account.

with her not only the Earldom of Ulster in the Kingdom of Ireland, but also the honours of Clare in Suffolk, as parcel of the inheritance of her grandmother Elizabeth, sister and co-heir of the last Earl Gilbert de Clare, and was consequently, in a parliament held A.D. 1362 (thirty-sixth of Edward III), created Duke of Clarence, as it were, of the country about the town, castle, and honour of Clare, in relation to which honour he distinguished his arms by a label of three points, *argent*, a canton *gules*, being a coat *attributed to the Clares*, and is placed in the third quarter, with the three chevrons as appeareth on the masonry of a tomb of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, in the abbey of Tewkesbury.<sup>1</sup>

This coat of Clare, *argent*, a canton *gules*, is to be found in Vincent's Ordinary of Arms, and other records in the College of Arms ; but in Phillipot's Ordinary and elsewhere it is attributed to the "Princesps de Chesh.," or Earl of Chester!—and is sometimes blazoned *or*, in lieu of *argent*.

Now, it is worthy of observation, that one of the early De Clares, Richard Fitz-Gilbert, who died 1139, married Adaliza or Alicia, daughter of the Earl of Chester ; and it is therefore quite probable that in those infant days of heraldry, a match with so great a family as that of Ranulph de Bricasard might have been recorded, according to the fashion of the time, by incorporating the armorial bearings of it with those of the person intermarrying with it, as one branch of the Nevils wore a canton ermine in proof of a match with the ducal house of Bretagne. In those days it was not indispensable for a wife to be an heiress to entitle her husband to display her paternal arms in some sort of conjunction with his own ; and although we have at present discovered no evidence which could set the question at rest, the probabilities appear to me in favour of the coat *argent*, with a canton *gules* having been attributed to, if not actually borne by, the ancient Earls of Chester, and adopted by the De Clares in the fourteenth century as an evidence of their maternal descent from those counts palatine. The real value of heraldry has only just dawned upon the present generation. Its immense importance to history and biography has yet to be universally acknowledged.

<sup>1</sup> Genealog. Hist., p. 220, edit. 1677.

## Proceedings of the Association.

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9TH FEBRUARY, 1870.

REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, M.A., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE election of the following members was announced :

Thomas Baylis, Esq., Aston Lodge, Thames Bank, Fulham.  
Geo. Bonnor, Esq., 42, Queen's Gate Terrace, Kensington Gore.

Thanks were returned for the following presents :

*To the Society*, Cambrian Archæological Association, for Fourth Series, No. I. 8vo. January, 1870.

*To the Author*, W. H. Black, Esq., F.S.A., for Observations on the recently discovered Roman Sepulchre at Westminster Abbey, read before the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, 10 Jan. 1870.

”       ”   *H. W. Henfrey, Esq.*, for Guide to the Study and Arrangement of English Coins, giving a Description of every Denomination of every Issue in Gold and Silver Coins from the Conquest to the Present Time. Parts I, II, III. 8vo. London, 1869.

Mr. G. R. Wright exhibited an Attic drachma in good preservation

Mr. Alfred Sadler exhibited a drawing of the old whipping-post of St. Margaret's, Westminster, which is now preserved in the church of St. Martin's in the Fields, and remarked that formerly almost every parish had its own whipping-post. Taylor, the Water-Poet, who died in 1654, had said,

“ In London, and within a mile, I ween,  
There are of jails and prisons full eighteen,  
And sixty whipping-posts and stocks and cages.”

The Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson exhibited, and read the following notes on, a deed *temp.* Henry VIII, in his own possession :

“ The document now laid on the table, and of which a transcript will be printed at the end of these remarks, is an original deed, dated 30 Henry VIII, with the royal seal still appended, granting licence to Ralph Sadler, Esq., to transfer to Robert Riche, brother of Sir Richard Riche, a messuage in the parish of St. Benedict, in Bucklersbury, in

the ward of Cheap. The parish is that known as St. Bennet Sherehog, whose parish church "stood near St. Syth's-lane, at the east end of Needlers'-lane, in Cheap ward."<sup>1</sup> The message, the subject of the present deed, had been formerly the property of the monastery or priory of St. Leonard of "Stratford atte Bowe," to which religious house it appears that the vicarage of Islington once belonged. About this church of Islington, says Newcourt,<sup>2</sup> "there was of old a controversy, before Gilbert Bishop of London, between the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's on the one part, and the nuns of Stratford-Bow on the other; which, by the authority and assent of the said bishop, was at last quietly determined after this manner, viz., "that the said nuns should hold this church of Iseldone of the canons of St. Paul's, and should therefore yearly pay to the said canons one mark,—half on the next day after the feast of St. Leonard, and half in the octaves of Pentecost; and that thereupon the said nuns should freely present to this church";<sup>3</sup> which right of presentation seems to have been exercised by the "Priorissa & moniales sive Conventus Sancti Leonardi de Stratford Bow," from 1327 till 1472.

"Sir Richard Riche appears as the author of three of the interesting *Letters relating to the Suppression of the Monasteries*, edited for the Camden Society by one of our Vice-Presidents, Thos. Wright, Esq., M.A., F.S.A. He writes, Letter XCII, to Cromwell, under date 29 March, 1538, upon the suppression of Binham and Beeston priories; in Letter CXXXII to John Scudamore, 24 April, 1540, giving him instructions as to the disposal of the bells of Wenlock Abbey; and again, Letter CXXXIV, to the same person, 31 July, 1540, upon the disposal of the goods of Bordesley Abbey. He was a person of no little importance. In 1535 he appears as Solicitor-General at the trial of Sir Thomas More.<sup>4</sup> In 1547 he became Lord Chancellor.<sup>5</sup> It was he who, in June 1546, assisted the then Lord Chancellor Wriothesley (he was himself Solicitor-General at that time) to torture Anne Ascue with his own hands. "They did put me on the rack," says Anne herself, "because I confessed no ladies or gentlemen to be of my opinion; and thereupon they kept me a long time; and because I lay still, and did not cry, my Lord Chancellor and Master Rich took pains to rack me with their own hands till I was well nigh dead."<sup>6</sup> In Foxe's hands the history loses nothing of its life-like character, for he adds that Wriothesley "and Master Riche, *throwing off their gowns*, would needs play the tormentors themselves."<sup>7</sup> Froude adds in a note, that "the abominable cruelty of Wriothesley and Rich is, perhaps, the darkest page in the history of any English

<sup>1</sup> Newcourt, *Repertorium*, i, p. 703.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 675.

<sup>3</sup> *Reg. Dec. & Cap.*, lib. A, fo. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Froude, *History*, ii, p. 397.

<sup>5</sup> Haydn, *Dictionary of Dates*.

<sup>6</sup> Froude, *History*, iv, p. 504.

<sup>7</sup> *Acts and Mon.*, Seeley's ed., v, pp. 547-8.

statesmen";<sup>1</sup> though in the latter part of the note he somewhat palliates Lord Wriothlesley's conduct in this particular instance. This same "Sir Richard Riche, Knight, lord Riche, lord Chancellor of England, of the age of 54 and above,"<sup>2</sup> was examined in the twentieth session against Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, in 1551. He died, I believe, in 1568. From the document now printed, it would appear as if his brother, Robert Riche, had been permitted to gather in some of the abundant plunder of the lands and property of the monastic houses:

"Henricus Octavus Dei gra' Anglie & Ffrancie Rex fidei defensor Dominus Hibernie ac in t'ra sup'um' caput Anglicane eccl'ie: Omnibus ad quos p'sentes l're p'ven'int sal't'm. Sciatis q'd nos de gra' n'ra sp'ali ac p' sex solidis & octo denariis nob' solut' in hanap'io concessim' ac licenciam dedim' ac p' p'sentes concedim' & licenciam dam' p' nob' & hered' n'ris quantum in nob' est Rad'o Sadler armig'o q'd ip'e totum illud mesuag'm sive ten' cum p'tin' modo in tenura henr' Lomnor Ciuis & grocer london' scituat' in p'chia S'ti Benedicti in Buklersbury in Warda de Chepe london' ac totum redditum revenc'o'em & anuale p'fitum ac ren'sionem eiusdem mesuagii sive ten'. Quod quidem mesuagiu' sive ten' nup' monast'io sive prioratui S'ti leonardi de Stratford att Bowe in Com' Midd' spectan' sive pertinen' que de nob' tenent' in socagio dare possit & concedere, Rob'to Riche f'ri Ric'i Riche militis h'ens & gaudens totum p'd'c'm mesuagiu' revenc'o'em annualem p'fit'm aut ren'sionem eiusdem messuagii & cet'a p'missa cum om'ib' eor' p'tin' quibuscumq' p'fato Rob'to hered' & assign' suis ad p'p'm usum ip'ius Rob'ti hered' & assign' suorum imp'pet'm de nob' et hered' n'ris p' s'vicia inde debita & de m're consueta. Et eidem Rob'to q'd ip'e mesuag'm reuenc'o'em annuale p'fit'm sive reu'sionem mesuagii p'd'ti & cet'a p'missa cum om'ib' eor' p't'm quibuscumq' a p'fato Rad'o Sadler recip'e possit & tenere sibi hered' & assign' suis sicut p'd'c'm est imp'pet'm tenore p'sent'm similit' licenciam dedim' ac dam' s'p'alem nolentes q'd p'fatus Rad'us Sadler vel heredes sui aut p'd'cus Rob'tus Riche vel heredes sui p' nos vel heredes n'ros justit' estact' vic' Ballivos seu ministros n'ros vel d'cor' hered' quoscumq' inde occ'onent molestent' in aliquo seu g'avent' nec eor' aliquis molestet occ'onet in aliquo seu g'avet'. In cuius rei testimoniu' has l'ras n'ras fieri fecim' patentes. Teste me ip'o apud Westm' vicesimo quarto die ffebruarii anno regni n'ri tricesimo.

C. ASSHETON.'

"There is the following endorsement: 'Granted by Kyng H. 8. to Raphe Sadler, Esq., to alien to Robt. Riche a message in Bucklersburie. Dat' 24. die ffebruarii 30. Hen. 8.' By reference to Mr. Bond's *Handybook of Rules and Tables for verijfing Dates*, we find that 24 Feb., 30 Henry VIII, corresponds to 1538-9 of our ordinary account.'

<sup>1</sup> Froude, *History*, iv, p. 504.

<sup>2</sup> *Acts and Mon.*, vi, p. 175.

Mr. Edward Levien, M.A., F.S.A., Hon. Sec., read the following notes by Walter De Gray Birch, Esq., of the British Museum, upon the first great seal of Charles I, exhibited by Robert Ready, Esq. :

“Charles I, upon his accession to the throne, issued a proclamation stating his intention of using the second great seal of his father until a new great seal had been made. We find in corroboration of this many royal documents sealed with the second seal of King James I, as engraved in Sandford’s *Genealogical History* and in the French *Tresor de Sceaux*. The deed of this kind in the British Museum, bearing the latest date, was sealed of the 24th May ‘*anno ii*,’ that is A.D. 1626.

“Until within a recent period it was commonly considered that the well known great seal of Charles I, bearing the date ‘1627’ engraved upon the upper part of the obverse, on either side of the shield of arms, as engraved in the above books of reference, immediately superseded this temporary use of the seal of the previous king; but it is now ascertained that there was an intermediate great seal, which does not appear to have been mentioned or engraved; one original impression of which exists in the British Museum, attached to a charter dated 5 December ‘*anno 2*,’ that is A.D. 1626; as well as casts of three other and more perfect impressions, obtained by Mr. Ready; making altogether four known examples of the seal.

“With regard to the limit of time during which the seal was used, the earliest date borne by any document in the British Museum, with the ‘1627’ seal, is 25 May ‘*anno 3*,’ that is A.D. 1627. This, therefore, leaves the period between 25 May, 1626, and 24 May, 1627 (exactly one year), as the greatest possible extent for the employment of the first great seal of King Charles. Other deeds probably exist which would tend to narrow even this small space of time, but they are not at present known.

“On the obverse is a representation of the king in royal robes, wearing a crown royal, fur tippet, and cloak, with collar of the Order of St. George, holding an orb with his left hand, and a sceptre fleur-de-lizée with his right. He is seated upon a throne of elaborate work carved with scroll ends, in the style of the renaissance, surmounted by a canopy having a shell-shaped back, and resting upon two nude female figures seen from behind. These figures also support curtains of drapery. The canopy is circular, cusped with four large sweeps on the superior edge, and bearing a shield of the royal arms ensigned with a crown encircled with a garter, and supported by two seated angels, beyond whom are two eagles displayed. The feet of the king rest upon a dais with circular front; outside of which, on the left, a lion; on the right, a unicorn; the heraldic supporters of the royal arms, each with a flag; the one charged with the cross of St. George, the other with that of St. Andrew. The legend is on a raised rim, in Roman capitals,



(rsc)





(Reverse.)



CAROLVS . DEI . GRATIA . MAGNÆ . BRITANNIÆ . FRANCIE . ET . HIBERNIÆ . REX .  
 FID . DEF . &c . On the reverse is a figure of the king armed at all points,  
 wearing a long plume of ostrich feathers, plate armour, a shield of the  
 royal arms, scabbard, and spur-rowel; elevating to his head a drawn  
 sword in his right hand; mounted upon a war-horse galloping to the  
 right, richly caparisoned; on its head an ostrich plume, the back of its  
 neck being protected by plate armour, and the housing finely embroi-  
 dered and bordered. On the flank it is charged with a shield of the  
 royal arms encircled with a garter, and regally ensigned. The saddle,  
 saddlecloth, reins, and girths are ornamented to correspond with the  
 other parts of the caparisons. On the field, and in the foreground, is  
 a greyhound courant, collared; and the background of the seal is filled  
 up in a remarkable manner with elliptical lines intersecting each other  
 at right angles, quarterly, so that each ellipse contains one-fourth of  
 the periphery of four others. The larger spaces thereby formed con-  
 tain alternately a rose, a fleur-de-lis, and a thistle; each smaller space  
 contains a minute fleur-de-lis. The legend is upon a raised rim, and  
 similar to that on the obverse. Impressions of the seal are believed to  
 exist among the muniments at New College, Oxford, and at Salisbury  
 Cathedral."

Mr. Walter L. Holt exhibited an elegant and elaborately orna-  
 mented steel pistol of Scottish work. Its details are curious, and  
 express in appropriate terms, in Latin, French, and Scotch, the sud-  
 den and deadly effect of the weapon. Thus, on the barrel are en-  
 graved the words, "*Quantum sufficit*," "*Nemo me impune lacessit*,"  
 "*Exempli gratia*," "*Multum in parvo*." By the side of the hammer  
 is "*Nota bene*"; and at either end of the trigger, "*Prenez garde*"  
 and "*Ultimatum*." On one side of the stock is a thistle with the  
 words, "Wha dare meddle wi' me?" and on the other side, a coffin  
 surmounted by a skull and cross-bones, with the motto, "*Memento  
 mori*." Other engravings representing a bear, a serpent, a horse, a  
 skull and bones, and a tiger's head, appear on various parts of the  
 pistol. The lock is of the kind known as the "snap-haunch." The  
 ramrod is perforated near the top, to facilitate the cleaning of the bar-  
 rel; and on the left side of the pistol is a long engraved hook, with  
 which to secure the weapon to the belt of the wearer. Apart, however,  
 from the singularity of its construction and ornamentation, the pistol  
 possesses a peculiar interest, from its being reputed to have belonged  
 to Richard Graham (son of Sir Robert Graham, of Morphy, and Mar-  
 garet his wife), a cornet in the Life Guards, *temp.* Charles II, and  
 nephew of the famous "Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee";  
 and to have been taken by the Covenanters from the young officer's  
 body after he was shot by "John Balfour of Burley at Drumclog, near  
 Bothwell Brig, in June, 1679," whilst bearing a flag of truce from the



royalist commander to the insurgents. It was preserved as an heirloom in a Presbyterian family for several generations, and was obtained some years since from a descendant. It bears the maker's name, Thomas Scuddell, and the date, 1678. One of the pistols which Claverhouse wore in his belt when he fell, was found with his body after the battle of Killiecrankie, and is now in the collection of Miss Stirling Graham of Duntrune.

Mr. J. W. Baily exhibited the following objects from Tokenhouse Yard, City:—three fragments of pottery, a small urn, and part of a lock (probably Roman), a fragment of bronze scale-beam (Saxon?), a knife-blade, and a pricket candlestick. From the new street at the west end of St. Sepulchre's Church,—ampulla, in metal, with legend on the band, "*Optimus Egrorum Medicus Fit Toma Bonorum*. A somewhat similar one to the above is in the York Museum. (See *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vi, p. 125.) Horse's bit, a hanging two-light candlestick, and a glass bead. From Earl-street,—an ivory carving, two fibulæ, and a bone strigil; also three German stamped leather book-covers of the sixteenth century, one of them ornamented with brass bosses, the property of J. Horner, Esq. On the smallest one is the date 1557, repeated twice on each side of the cover. On the outer panels figures of Prudence and Justice, and subjects from the life of Christ, with the initials H. P. (probably those of the binder); and on the inner, medallions of Erasmus, Philip Melancthon, Martin Luther, etc., and the arms of Saxony.

Mr. H. F. Holt exhibited a drawing, in fac-simile, of a half-pound weight, which, he observed, was in common use among the Romans in the fourth and fifth centuries. It is flat in form, and bears on its upper surface a cross patée within a chaplet of either palm, or laurel leaves, or ears of wheat. In the two corners, at the upper portion of the weight, is an open rose. The two letters on either side of the cross signify OVISSA EX (six ounces), or *semis onciarum*. Mr. Holt said: "I have introduced this drawing to the notice of the meeting because the cross here represented corresponds in every respect with that which appears on the Westminster sarcophagus; and I submit it to the consideration of the Associates in support of my argument, that the Westminster cross is of the fifth century. (See *ante*, pp. 61-68.)

The Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson said he must still differ from Mr. Holt's views upon the subject. He thought a cross patée covering the whole length of the lid had never yet been found on a Roman tomb.

Mr. W. H. Black said that he also must dissent from Mr. Holt, and he did not see how the drawing now exhibited at all strengthened his position. The cross on the Westminster tomb was much longer than that on the example which Mr. Holt now brought forward to support his argument; and whereas the Westminster cross was bifurcated at

the foot, that on the Roman weight was solid, and of an angular form.

Mr. Roberts also dissented from Mr. Holt's opinion, and thought that the cross was decidedly of the mediæval period.

Mr. Grover remarked that, not only was the lid of a different kind of stone to the lower part of the sarcophagus, but it was an inch and a half longer; and he was convinced that no Roman mason would have made the upper and under portions of the tomb of different dimensions. In the absence of the *Diis Manibus*, the *chi-rho*, or, in fact, any inscription or legend which would identify its date, he did not regard it as being either Roman or even Roman-Christian; but he thought it certainly presented all the appearance of having been of purely Christian burial.

Mr. H. F. Holt exhibited the following interesting relics of Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, and of his daughter Christine, queen of Sweden, now in his possession:

"1.—Ivory hanap, formerly belonging to Gustavus Adolphus: height,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ins.; diameter at its orifice,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ins.; and at its base, 2 ins. Carved upon it are the arms borne by the king, viz.: *Sweden*.—*Azure*, three crowns *or*. *Hesse*.—*Azure*, a lion barry of eight pieces *argent* and *gules* crowned *or*. These arms were properly and originally those of the ancient Dukes of Franconia, and were given by "Conradus Salicus", Duke of Franconia and Emperor to Lewis of Orleans, at the time he invested him in the Landgravedom of Thuringia, on the expiration of whose line they were challenged and borne by the Landgraves of Hesse as the direct heirs of Lewis VI, and his brother Henry, the last male princes of that house. The shield in the centre of the escutcheon represents the arms of Hesse, with which house Gustavus, on the 30th of March, 1614, renewed the Treaty of Mutual Succession. Beneath the armorial bearings is carved a vase supported on either side by a winged figure in the act of pouring wine into a cup, the lower portion of each figure terminating in a graceful and elegant scroll. The stem represents an eagle, the emblem of the House of Brandenburg, of which the queen of Gustavus was a princess. The foot is in a style well suited to the other details of the hanap, which is carved throughout with the utmost delicacy and finish.

"11.—Hanap in ivory, formerly belonging to Christine, Queen of Sweden: height,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  ins.; diameter at orifice,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in.; and at base, 2 in.: date, *circa* 1650. The hanap is in the form of a cone tapering outwards, supported by a full-length military figure in the costume of the period, the base being delicately and appropriately carved. The armorial bearings upon the hanap are those of Poland, viz.—Quarterly 1, *gules* an eagle *argent* crowned and armed *or* for the realm of Poland; and 2, *gules*, a chevalier armed *cap-à-pié*, advancing his sword *argent*.

and bearing on his shield a patriarchal cross, mounted on a barbed courser of the second for the Dukedom of Lithuania. In the centre are the arms of Saxony—barwise of six pieces *sable*, on the bend flowered *vert*, the whole being surmounted by the royal crown and eagle of Poland. Upon the shield borne on the left arm of the figure supporting the cup, will be found the *chi-rho*, or “Cross of Constantine,” adopted by Christine as her monogram.

“III.—Hanap in ivory, also belonging to Christine, Queen of Sweden : height,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  in. ; diameter at orifice,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. ; and at base, 2 in. ; date, *circa* 1650. This hanap is a pendant to the one previously described, both in form and design. The armorial bearings upon it are those of Sweden. *Azure*, three crowns, *or* ; *Hesse—Azure*, a lion barry of eight pieces, the whole surmounted by the royal crown. On either side are two lions, the whole being carved with great boldness and elegance.

“These hanaps were presented by Christina very soon after the death of Monaldeschi, at Fontainebleau, in November 1657, to Gabrielle de Rochechouart, Marquise de Thianges (Dame d’honneur to Mademoiselle de Montpensier), and were afterwards given by her to her sister, the ‘Marquise de Montespan’ (the celebrated mistress of Louis XIV), through whose daughter, ‘Mademoiselle de Blois’ (who married Philip, Duc d’Orleans, Regent of France), they remained in the Orleans collection until its dispersion in 1792, when they came into the possession of a Royalist, who in 1794 presented them, with the foregoing account of their history (and other objects of interest and value), to Monsieur Cornuel of Boulogne sur Mer, in token of gratitude for concealing him from the fury of the Revolutionists, and afterwards aiding in his escape to England.

“With a view to add to the interest of these souvenirs of Gustavus, Mr. Holt also exhibited the following, connected with the period :

“IV.—A grant of arms, by Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, to the brothers Hans, Paul, Alexander, Andreas, and Lucas de Vischer, in consideration of the services rendered to the House of Austria by their father, Alexander Vischer. It bears date the 23rd of April, 1593, and has Ferdinand’s signature ; the impressed seal, or paper, having unfortunately been removed. This is the man who afterwards, as Ferdinand II, Emperor of Germany, was, to the last hour of his existence, the untiring and deadly enemy of Gustavus Adolphus and the Protestant faith.

“V.—A fine medallion of his son and successor, the Emperor Ferdinand III, who inherited his father’s hatred of the king, and engaged his greatest generals, Tully, Piccolomini, and Wallenstein, against him ; but in vain, as Gustavus lived to defeat them all in turn, and to lay that foundation of peace which resulted in the Pacification of Munster in 1648, wherein Christian of Sweden played so conspicuous a part, and

secured the recognition of the Protestant religion throughout Germany. The Emperor is represented in profile, looking towards the right, and wears the laurel crown. He is magnificently attired, and has the collar of the Golden Fleece. The inscription is, FERDI—III—D : G : ROM : I : M : S : A : GEG III : BO REX. On the reverse is a cross, having at its base a pair of scales ; and in front a sword and sceptre crosswise, emblematic of Justice. The legend is, 'Firmamenta Regnorum.'

"VI.—A beautiful work of art representing the Emperor Ferdinand III, carved on onyx-appliqué, on agate, and having the imperial arms at the back engraved on a cameo. The King's effigy, set in Bohemian garnets, will be found to correspond with the medallion. This historical souvenir is the more interesting as having been given by Ferdinand to Dr. Isaac Volmar, one of the imperial ambassadors to the Congress of Munster, in token of his Majesty's satisfaction with the doctor's conduct as his 'representative,' and was preserved in his family until a few years since.

"VII.—A fine medal of the celebrated General Wallenstein. On the obverse is his bust in three-quarters, which well delineates the stern severity of his countenance. The inscription is, ALBERTUS : D : G : DUX : MEGA : FRID : ET SAG : PRIN : VAN. On the reverse are his armorial bearings, surrounded by the collar of the Golden Fleece, with the inscription, COMES : DI WALDSTEIN ET SUERI : DO : ROSTOCK ET STAR : with the date 1631.

"VIII.—A carving on a root of hazel-wood, also representing Wallenstein in full costume, with his castle, armorial bearings, &c. ; from the collection of the late M. Hertel of Nuremburg.

"The life of Wallenstein is a study in itself, which will always merit the careful attention of the historian. Notwithstanding, however, the violent and capricious character he bore, his fidelity to the imperial cause deserved a better fate than to be murdered by Ferdinand's command ; and still more is it to be regretted that the imperial command was fulfilled by a party headed by Colonel Gordon, a Scottish Presbyterian. Another Scotchman, George Leslie, and Colonel Butler, having pledged themselves to the murder by an oath, which they swore over their drawn swords, added seven other officers to the conspiracy, named Geraldine, Devereux, Brown, Macdonald, Birch, Pestaluzzi, and Lerda ; the first five being Irishmen, belonging to Butler's dragoons, and the two last Spaniards. The foul deed was committed on the night of the 24th February, 1634, at Egra, the last Bohemian fortress on the road leading into the Palatinate ; and it was the hand of Devereux which struck the fatal blow, received by his victim with open arms, and without resistance. Thus concluded the foul deed, for the successful termination of which the craven and contemptible Emperor caused prayers to be offered up in all the churches

at Vienna, Devereux being rewarded with a gold chain and with several confiscated domains.

“Tradition declares that Wallenstein had only a few moments before dismissed for the night an Italian astrologer named Seni, who was attached to the Duke’s household, and had declared the stars still boded impending danger, which Wallenstein chose to disregard. One of the most talented painters of the Munich school, M. Pilotti, has admirably rendered the death-scene of Wallenstein, with Seni standing over the corpse, lost in meditation, and probably lamenting the disregard of his sage advice.”

23RD FEBRUARY.

THOMAS WRIGHT, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE election of the following members was announced :

Charles Reed, Esq., M.P., Upper Homerton.

W. S. Horner, Esq., 7, Aldgate.

Samuel Rayson, Esq., 32, Sackville Street, Piccadilly.

Henry William Henfrey, Esq., Markham House, College Road, Brighton.

Thanks were returned for the following presents :

*To the Society*, Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen, for Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie, udgivne af det Konelige Nordiske Oldskrift-Selskab. Første und Andet Heften. 8vo. Copenhagen, 1869; and for Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord. Nouvelle Série. 8vo. Copenhagen, 1868.

„ „ The Kilkenny and South-east of Ireland Archæological Society for Journal, vol. vi. No. 57, New Series. 8vo. Dublin : July, 1867.

*To the Author*, Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, M.A., F.S.A., Rector, for Notes on the History and Antiquities of the United Parishes of St. Matthew, Friday Street, and St. Peter, Cheap, in the City of London. Reprinted from the Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society. Vol. III. Part X. 4to. *On large paper.*

„ „ H. W. Henfrey, Esq., for Guide to the Study and Arrangement of English Coins, giving a Description of Every Denomination of every Issue in Gold, Silver, and Copper from the Conquest to the Present Time, with all the Latest Discoveries. Part IV. Small 8vo. 1870.

Mr. J. W. Baily exhibited the following objects found in an excavation at Gun Wharf, Wapping :—Thirteen pieces of coarse red pottery,

glazed in front dark green. One nearly perfect, and measuring seven and a quarter inches high by one and a half wide. On the backs is a narrow projecting rib, by which they have been built into the upright joint of some sort of brickwork or tiling, so as to hide and ornament the joint. In front is a male figure supporting a cornice, the lower part of the figure terminating in a bifurcated fish's tail twisted. There are specimens like these in the British Museum, and they were probably used in the corners of tiled fireplaces, to hide the joinings of the tiles. 2. A small amphora, of coarse pottery, twelve inches high by five and three-eighths in diameter, and having two ears or handles. 3. An earthen bottle, or *diota*, with two ears or handles, the back and front flattened, and the whole coarsely made, seven and a half inches high.

Mr. Roberts observed that the piece of ribbed pottery now before them was of about the seventeenth century, and might have been used for covering the outside joints of very thin brick or timber work in buildings to keep out the wet, although it was, perhaps, of too slight a character for this purpose. The *diota* was, he thought, merely the work of a "prentice hand."

Mr. Grover gave an account of excavations at Richborough, and the general appearance of the fortress. He considered it as one of the finest examples of Roman masonry in the country, and hoped that at some future period it would be more thoroughly explored.

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## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

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11TH MAY.

THOMAS WRIGHT, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A, V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE Treasurer gave a general outline of the income and expenditure of the Association, and said that as his accounts were not yet quite ready for audit, he would defer his usual detailed statement till some future occasion. In the meanwhile he was happy to assure the members of the Association that they were in a prosperous condition, both financially and archæologically, for that the St. Alban's Congress had been a success in regard to both these points, and he thought that their forthcoming meeting at Hereford also promised to be attended with similar satisfactory results.

The ballot for the Officers and Council of the year 1870-71 having been taken, the Chairman announced that the following had been unanimously elected :

## President.

C. WREN HOSKYNs, Esq., M.P.

## Vice-Presidents.

[*Ex officio*—THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND, K.G., THE EARL OF CARNARVON, THE EARL BATHURST, THE LORD HOUGHTON, D.C.L., THE LORD LYTTON, SIR CHARLES H. ROUSE BOUGHTON, BART., SIR OSWALD MOSELEY, BART., D.C.L., JAMES HEYWOOD, F.R.S., F.S.A., GEORGE TOMLINE, M.P., F.S.A.]

THE EARL OF EFFINGHAM	JOSEPH MAYER, F.S.A., F.R.A.S.
SIR J. G. WILKINSON, D.C.L., F.R.S.	J. R. PLANCHÉ, <i>Somerset Herald</i>
H. SYER CUMING, F.S.A. SCOT.	REV. PREBENDARY SCARTH, M.A.
JOHN EVANS, F.R.S., F.S.A.	REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, M.A., F.S.A.
GEORGE GODWIN, F.R.S., F.S.A.	THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A., F.S.A.

## Treasurer.

GORDON M. HILLS.

## Secretaries.

E. LEVIEN, M.A., F.S.A.

E. ROBERTS, F.S.A.

## Secretary for Foreign Correspondence.

THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A., F.S.A.

## Palaeographer.

W. H. BLACK, F.S.A.

## Curator and Librarian.

GEORGE R. WRIGHT, F.S.A.

## Draughtsman.

G. F. TENISWOOD, F.S.A.

## Council.

G. G. ADAMS, F.S.A.	J. COPLAND, M.D., F.R.S.
GEORGE ADE	AUGUSTUS GOLDSMID, F.S.A.
W. E. ALLEN	J. W. GROVER
J. W. BAILY	HENRY F. HOLT
THOMAS BLASHILL	W. CALDER MARSHALL, R.A.
CECIL BRENT, F.S.A.	REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A., F.S.A.,
H. H. BURNELL, F.S.A.	F.R.G.S.
C. H. E. CARMICHAEL, M.A., F.A.S.L.	R. N. PHILIPPS, F.S.A.
JOSIAH CATO	J. W. PREVITÉ

## Auditors.

J. O. HALLIWELL, F.R.S., F.S.A. | T. F. DILLON CROKER, F.S.A.

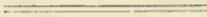
The following resolution was then moved by Mr. Goldsmid, seconded by Mr. G. Ade, and carried by acclamation :

“That the Hon. Sec. be requested to convey the cordial thanks of the Association to the Right Hon. Lord Lytton, President of the Association for the past year, for having, by his acceptance of that office, reflected upon it the lustre of his great name ; for the eloquent and exhaustive address by which he graced the opening meeting of the St. Alban’s Congress ; for his sedulous attention to the business of the Congress ; and for his courtesy and hospitality during its continuance to all the members.”

It was then proposed by Mr. Black, seconded by Mr. Goldsmid, and carried unanimously :

“ That the thanks of this Association be given to the Treasurer for the summary of his accounts for the past year, now read, and for his many valuable services ; and that he be requested to lay the further details of his statement before the Members, as finally examined and certified by the Auditors, at his earliest convenience.”

Thanks having been voted to the Officers and Council for their services during the past year, and to the Chairman, it was announced by him that the Annual Congress would be held at Hereford, under the presidency of Chandos Wren Hoskyns, Esq., M.P., probably at the beginning of September, but the precise date would be fixed as soon as possible ; after which the meeting separated.



## Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 108.)

TUESDAY, AUGUST 3RD.

AT about eleven o'clock the carriages started, in the midst of a pelting rain, by the way of the Watling-street, to Redbourn, where the members were received by the vicar, the Rev. W. S. Wade, and the church was inspected under his guidance. The building is in excellent preservation, having been restored in 1851. It is chiefly Norman. The arcade on the north side is a very good specimen of Norman work. Mr. Roberts pointed out some carving on one of the Norman pillars as the germ of the dog-tooth and nail-head mouldings. Mr. Hills made some reference to the connection of the church with St. Alban's Abbey. It was at Redbourn that Amphibalus, the instrument of the conversion of St. Alban, was said to have been martyred. In the south wall of the chancel is a rather curious brass to the memory of Richard Pecock and his family, of the date of 1512. The Church register goes back to the year 1617. The vicar pointed out a Norman arch at the west end of the church, which had been bricked up. The entrance to the pulpit was through the old rood loft. The church consists of a nave, chancel, and two aisles.

After thanking the vicar for his courtesy, the party proceeded to Markyate Cell, the residence of Mr. D. G. Adey, where they were very courteously received. Here was once a cell attached to the monastery of St. Alban's, and here, too, John de Cella, the twenty-first abbot, was born. Scarcely a vestige of the ancient fabric remains, the older part of the present building being of the date of Edward the Sixth's reign, when the estate belonged to George Ferrars, to whom the King, in 1549, granted permission to enclose one hundred acres of what was then common land. It subsequently belonged to the families of Coppin and Howard. The Rev. W. F. Adey said that a number of stone coffins had been discovered in the gardens, and in one of these was a pilgrim's staff and bottle. He also said that the marks of a human skeleton had been found in a chalk excavation near the house.

After leaving Markyate Cell the carriages proceeded to Dunstable, where the Mayor (Mr. Burgess), and some members of the Corporation

were waiting to welcome the Association. A deputation went from the Red Lion to receive the address of the Council, and to invite his worship and the other members of the Corporation to luncheon, by which time the party had increased to about seventy. The Chair was taken by Mr. Hills. After luncheon the Chairman proposed the health of the Mayor and Corporation.

The Mayor having suitably acknowledged the toast, the health of the Rector of Dunstable, the Rev. Dr. Howes, was drunk.

The Rector, in reply, said that Dunstable was one of the most interesting places in the country to the antiquary. "Here," he continued, "we have Icknield Way and Watling-street, the great cross-roads branching east and west, north and south, in the time of the Roman Commonwealth. If you had come earlier I could have directed your attention to an immense mound of some twenty or thirty acres, which was undoubtedly a Roman encampment. At Tattenhoe you might have seen a curious fortification of antiquity. The date of it I cannot possibly tell you. On our own downs there are also five very remarkable barrows, of which I should be very glad if any one here present could give me something like the date. An Archæological Society a few years ago opened one of these barrows, but were rather disappointed in finding nothing whatever. The town of Dunstable once belonged to the parish of Houghton Regis, and report said that our neighbours at Houghton Regis were not so honest as they ought to have been. The high road was infested with robbers; and Henry the First founded the monastery here in the hope that the reverend fathers would teach them better manners than to enrich themselves with the spoils taken from travellers. There is some difficulty in regard to the origin of the name Dunstable. It is said there was a celebrated robber here, named Dunning, who placed a staple in the middle of the street, and challenged any man who tethered an animal there, to preserve it from being stolen during the night; and this is said to explain the origin of the name given to the town.<sup>1</sup> I shall have great pleasure in showing you the church, which was part of the Priory founded by Henry I. If you look into the annals of Dunstable, you will find some of them somewhat mythical; but the historical facts are very interesting. Dunstable Church is an almost unique building. It is now but a fragment of the original church, with its nave, aisles, and transepts, and its lady-chapel beyond. Henry the Eighth was divorced from Catherine of Arragon in this church. The Commissioners ordered the Queen to be present at the trial, but she refused to attend. The Commissioners accordingly proceeded to the lady-chapel of the church, pronounced her contumacious, and sentenced her to be divorced. The first performance of the plays

<sup>1</sup> The town was originally called Dunningstable. See the *Historia fordaticensis Prioratus de Dunstaple*, printed by Dugdale in his *Monasticon*.

known as 'sacred mysteries,' in the English language, took place in Dunstable Church. The building itself is a highly decorated Norman structure, and the date of it is early in the twelfth century, between the years 1112 and 1130—not later. The west front you will find most interesting and curious, as well as beautiful. You will see there specimens of the four great styles. It has a fine Norman doorway and a perpendicular door, singularly grand and good. There is an open gallery and arcade, and a tower, which is perpendicular. In one arch you will find two styles, Norman and Perpendicular, and you will see a very fine specimen of ancient diaper work.

"I have undertaken the restoration of Dunstable Church, an object which has been dear to me for five-and-twenty years. We have restored the south wall, and are now restoring the nave; but, I regret to say, sufficient funds are not forthcoming to do the work thoroughly. I want to do what is done, archæologically. To suffer our church, which is a national monument, to fall into decay, would reflect discredit upon our town."

The health of "The Ladies" having been proposed by Mr. Levien, and that of Mr. Gordon Hills by the Rector, after Mr. Hills had replied to the toast, the party visited the church, and the details connected with it were clearly and fully described by the Rector. The interior was undergoing a thorough restoration, and the scaffolding considerably obstructed the view. The restoration of the south aisle, with its fine Norman vaulting, appeared to have been faithfully executed.

Dr. Howes said the present windows were formerly the triforium windows, as there was a store above with clerestory windows. The arches, which had been restored, were previously filled up with rude blocks of masonry. He called attention to these beautiful arches, with their cluster-columns. Two years ago they had no idea there were so many beauties concealed behind the rough stone. He desired to have a Norman roof, and spoke to Mr. Gilbert Scott about it; but he said, "You must have the present Tudor roof restored." This roof was singularly beautiful; they would not often find a richer Tudor roof. The western arcade was only half of it seen. There was, formerly, a south-west tower, and at the south-west corner there was a block of rude masonry. At the end of the south wall were the remains of a beautiful Norman doorway. Henry the Eighth, perhaps, as a mark of gratitude in the matter of the divorce, intended to make Dunstable the seat of a bishopric; and he actually appointed one Dr. Day to the new see, but something caused him to alter his mind. The Priory, instead of being made a bishop's palace, was pulled down, and the church was deprived of its chancel, and curtailed to its present dimensions, as being more suitable to the requirements of a parish church. The south aisle was restored about twelve years ago. It was

graphical, topographical, and historical information. Here are evidences, as Mr. Grover very impressively suggested to you, of Roman civilisation in this country, of which we have thousands of proofs. It would be possible, from the observations which have been made, to construct plans of Roman cities and boroughs, perfectly demonstrating their streets, ways, gates, lines, and angles, the boundaries of their jurisdiction, and other boundaries connected with the municipal jurisdiction of these places, and illustrating the skill, ability, energy, and power of the Roman empire.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman and the readers of the papers having been passed, the proceedings terminated.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 4TH.

This day having been appointed for the examination of the churches of St. Alban's, the supposed ruins of Sopwell Nunnery (see *ante*, pp. 132-43), the excavations on the site of ancient Verulam, the Roman remains at Beech Bottom and Gorhambury, the seat of Lord Verulam, at about half-past ten a large party of members proceeded in carriages and on foot to St. Stephen's church, the history and characteristics of which were described by the Rev. P. U. Brown, curate of the church. The registers of baptisms (from the year 1597) and of marriages (from the year 1558) having been inspected,

Mr. Roberts said: "This is one of the three churches founded by Ulsinus, the sixth abbot of St. Alban's. about the year 950. Although the church contains, perhaps, only a very small portion of Saxon work, still there are some traces on the outside of the west wall of the original building, and we find in the church work of every period subsequent to that. On the north side there are the remains of a Norman arch, showing beyond that a chantry or chapel, because, as far as I can understand, there is no evidence of a north aisle. The other part of the nave is of the thirteenth century, and is very nice work indeed. The remainder of this part of the church is of the latest period, the third pointed or perpendicular style of the fifteenth century. Perhaps the most interesting portion of the building is what is called the "leper's chapel," on the south side of the chancel. That chapel was detached from the chancel, and had a small loophole at its eastern end, supposed to be the aperture by which the lepers of St. Julian's Hospital were enabled to see the elevation of the pix. I do not know how far the tradition can be borne out, but I should doubt that being a leper's chapel. It was a chantry, possibly, dedicated to the second dedication, not the founder of the church. That lychnoscope is of a very ordinary character, and it almost always occurs in chapels. I under-

stand there is no record that it was appropriated to lepers : there is only the supposition that it was so used. It is exceedingly doubtful whether lepers would be allowed to come within the building, though separated from the congregation, as most likely there was a chapel attached to the hospital. The chancel arch is of a peculiar character ; it is made of timber. This arch must have been erected at a later date. There must have been a stone chancel-arch here, as in every other church of this period, which was removed at the time when the perpendicular aisles were erected. The lectern (an antique work in the form of an eagle) was discovered about the year 1748. It had been buried, probably to prevent its falling into the hands of the iconoclasts."

Mr. Brown said : The inscription bears the name of the Bishop of Dunkeld. The church has been three times dedicated, and he is supposed to be the third dedicator. This lectern was put in the tomb of the Montague family close under the later arches. With regard to what is called the "lepers' chapel," it is not generally supposed that it was at first intended for the use of lepers ; but when their number had dwindled down to three or four, and St. Julian's Hospital was destroyed, it is supposed that the lepers were admitted into that part of the church.

Mr. Roberts : That is consistent with my theory. I assume that the chantry was erected in honour of the second founder, about the thirteenth century.

Mr. Brown : The old hospital was destroyed in the sixteenth century, and after that the lepers were taken into the old chancel, which was shut off from the rest of the church.

Mr. Roberts : Clutterbuck gives us the vicars from 1571 to 1790. The register commences in 1558.

Mr. Brown : It gives a list of the masters of St. Julian's.

Mr. Roberts : It is described as in the jurisdiction of the monastery of St. Alban's and the diocese of London. The vicarage of St. Stephen's, as given here, was of the value of fifteen pounds a year, and tenths payable to the king, thirty shillings. There are no early monuments now in the church. The church has been restored by Mr. Gilbert Scott. The decorations on the walls of the chancel are of that peculiar character for which I think there is no authority in England, and I could almost guess by the appearance that it is Gilbert Scott's work. The style might be called Byzantine but for the flowers so freely introduced among coats of arms.

The party, after inspecting the register, proceeded to the vicarage, where they were shown some interesting and valuable sepulchral remains discovered in St. Stephen's churchyard in 1848. Mr. Brown read a paper on these remains, prepared by Mr. Bloxam for a meeting of the Architectural Society at St. Alban's in 1849. They consisted of a glass cinerary urn, an *unquentarium*, a *praefriculum*, a *patera*,

a very fine piece of Norman work. He (Dr. Howes) was ambitious to have an apse at the east end of the church, but Mr. Gilbert Scott objected that if he did so, people would think it was a perfect Norman church, whereas it was only a relic; and he said if anything was added it must be a chancel. He (the rector) coveted a window for the east end of the church. A great many very old tessellated pavements had been discovered. There was not a single bit of carving or other new decoration in the church for which they had not some authority.

Dr. Howes then pointed out some very curious stone carving, consisting of figures of animals (apparently a satire on the monks), which was discovered in the foundations of a house in Dunstable. The rood screen was of Tudor date.

Mr. Roberts, who was to have described the church, remarked that the rector had scarcely left him anything to say. Of the conventual buildings nothing remained but what was popularly known as the refectory at the west end. It had been so called by Lord Lytton; but it was never used for that purpose, because the refectory was on the opposite side, parallel to the church on the south side. It was most likely part of the guest-house facing the street, or part of the cellarage under the buildings that side of the cloister. Of the church nothing remained but the nave. He surmised that it was once a Cross church.

The party were then kindly allowed by Mr. Marsh to go into his house, and inspect the only remaining room of the convent, with its stone vaulted roof, which is in a good state of preservation. Mr. Roberts pointed out what he thought was the position of the original gateway. In this room Mr. Roberts remarked that part of the arcade on the north side of the west front was identical with a small portion of the cloister, which was a *cul-de-sac*, and he had no doubt the work was executed by the same hands as had executed the handsome doorway. The rector had referred to the curious circumstance of the Norman doorway being filled in with work of the latest period of Gothic architecture. Although very handsome, the example was not unique. At Malmesbury, last year, they inspected a similar example almost in its pristine state; this was nearly in ruins.

Mr. Hills said that Dunstable, like St. Alban's, was one of the resting-places for the body of Queen Eleanor. Of the crosses which were erected at these places but few remained. Of those which he had seen, the crosses at Northampton and Waltham were in the most perfect preservation.

The rector said the site of the cross at Dunstable was as nearly as possible opposite the Red Lion inn.

After the rector had been thanked for the kind and courteous manner in which he had received the members of the Association, and for the interesting and valuable information he had given, the party returned to St. Alban's.

The Evening Meeting was held in the Council Chamber, the Mayor of St. Alban's (Mr. Bradley) presiding. After Mr. Roberts had given his *resumé* of the day's proceedings, the following papers were read by their respective authors :

“ On popular tumults at St. Alban's in the time of Richard II,” by Edward Levien, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Hon. Sec., which is printed at pp. 32-44 *ante*.

“ On Verulam and Pompeii compared,” by J. W. Grover, Esq., which will be found at pp. 45-52 *ante*.

In reference to the plans exhibited by Mr. Grover, Mr. Thomas Wright, M.A., F.S.A., said that, generally speaking (in England, at least), we find no wall on that side of a Roman town which faces a river or the sea.

Dr. W. H. Black, F.S.A., remarked that sometimes that phenomenon was due to the entire destruction of walls, as in London, where the Roman wall on the Thames side did not exist in the twelfth century ; and yet we have traces of it along the whole length of Thames-street. My observations (he continued) are made with a view of impressing on your minds the necessity of not including the whole of Verulam, or Verulam proper, in the remains the other side of the river. That was part of the city, but not the Verulam of Tacitus, of Antoninus, or of Ptolemy. These remains are those of the military city, a large encampment, a place occupied by a large military force. The municipal city was mainly on this side of the water, and there would be no absolute necessity for fortifications along the river-side, as it would stand opposite the civil municipality. I do not take the city on the other side of the water to have been a *municipium* at all, but a large enclosure for military purposes, in consequence of the destruction to which the place was subjected during the Great Rebellion of the first century, when the town, not being sufficiently fortified, was overwhelmed by the forces of the rebels. If it turn out that there is no evidence of the existence of a wall along the water-side, it will be a very strong confirmation of my views, that the town of St. Alban's in its present position, and every ancient street and every angle can be traced back into antiquity as the municipality of the first century. I do not wish to anticipate those observations I am bound to make in consequence of my promise to read a paper, but will confine them to the subject before us. I am sure we must all feel under an obligation to Mr. Grover and those gentlemen who have prepared the way to an understanding of this subject, and of solving these problems by the investigations they have made. I hope those investigations will be carried out not merely with a view of finding mere curiosities, nor as investigations, until recently, have been carried out at Rome and other places, for the purpose of discovering mere works of art, but in order to obtain geo-

two *cymbæ*, a Samian vase, and a lamp of red glass with some calcined bones. It was supposed that these remains were interred a short distance from the walls of ancient Verulam, at the end of the third or early part of the fourth century. They appear to have been a single interment. The human remains were most likely those of one of the governors of the once famous city.

Mr. Brown said that the vicar, the Rev. M. Southwell, if a local museum were established, would be happy to present these remains. They were found in about the centre of the churchyard.

Mr. Grover said that the vase of Samian ware had been exposed to the powerful action of fire.

The ruins at Sopwell, upon which a paper by Mr. A. Sadler will be found at pp. 132-43 *ante*, were next inspected.

Mr. Roberts said there was not a single stone or arch of the nunnery remaining. The nunnery was instituted by Geoffrey de Gorham, the sixteenth Abbot, about the year 1141, according to Clutterbuck, but it is perfectly clear there was a nunnery here before, inasmuch as Geoffrey was a witness to a gift of land to this cell by Robert de Albeny. Geoffrey in some way reinstated it. It was said that two nuns constructed a habitation near a place called Eiwood, and that the abbot, impressed with their piety, built them a cell here, which was subsequently inhabited by thirteen nuns, and called Sopwell, because (as tradition informs us) women were in the habit of sopping their bread in the well close by. Geoffrey ordained that the nuns should conform to the rule of St. Benedict, and they were all kept under lock and key. As at Markyate Cell, they had a separate place of burial, and no monk was allowed to be buried in their burial-ground. At the time of the dissolution of the monasteries, this religious house was granted to Sir Richard Lee, who pulled down the nunnery, and built a house on its site. It is the ruins of that house that we now see. In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, the nunnery is described as being within the jurisdiction of the monastery of St. Alban's, and the diocese of London, and the property was assessed to one-tenth of the value of forty pounds, seven shillings, and ten pence. At Gorhambury, in the possession of the Earl of Verulam, there is a grant of king Henry II, confirming a grant of Henry I, granting them the right of free warren, and other rights. There is also the confirmation of a grant made by the abbot of St. Alban's. I shall be able to show you the field spoken of as the site of the first battle of St. Alban's. I do not know whether the mounds have anything to do with the sepulture of the slain in that battle, or whether they are recent. As regards the nunnery, it is exceedingly likely that under that rising ground there are some ruins of the conventual buildings.

The next spot visited was the Roman dyke at Beech Bottom. Mr. Grover said they had very little information as to these hollow ways existing in many parts of Britain and the Roman world. Lately a pamphlet had been published by Mr. Parker describing the curious fosses or hollow ways round Rome, and a paper was read by him before the British Archæological Society on this subject; and it was remarkable how very similar was the construction of the covered way they were now examining. The object of these foss-ways had never yet been ascertained.

Mr. Roberts said he could not conceive that this particular one was for any other use than as a covered way from one principal Roman station to another. It could be traced in a straight line from Camlet Way, from St. Alban's to beyond Kimpton; and earth dug out formed a bank on both sides, which in the fields had since been considerably ploughed down.

Mr. Black considered it was impossible that the sunken foss could have been used as a way from one Roman station to another, because it would be so open to attack from ambuscades. He thought these hollow ways were constructed for the purpose of circumvallation.

The party, on their return from Beech Bottom, visited St. Peter's Church. Mr. Roberts called attention to the remains of ancient stained glass in the windows of the north aisle. He said this glass was possibly of an earlier period than the windows themselves. It was a great pity there was not more of it remaining. The date of it, he thought, was about the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century. The church was one of the three founded by Ulsinus, the sixth abbot of St. Alban's.

Mr. John Harris gave some description of the church, which he said at one time had a spire. One of the old stained glass windows was existing in 1631. One light, he believed, represented the martyrdom of St. Peter; and another the presentation of Christ in the Temple. The fragments had recently been taken from the vestry, and placed in the windows. The pulpit, a fine specimen of wood-carving, came from the Continent. The modern stained glass was by Capronnier of Brussels, and had been recently inserted.

Mr. Roberts said the style of the church was debased Perpendicular, almost Elizabethan; and some of it was late Tudor, with short pillars and very lancet-pointed arches. The windows had straight mullions running through to the top. The church had been entirely rebuilt. It was seldom considered that anything after Elizabeth was of sufficient antiquity to enlarge upon considerably. The pulpit was a remarkable piece of fine carving.

After luncheon at the Town Hall, a very large party proceeded to inspect the site of the ancient city of Verulam. They first went towards

remains of the Roman wall on the other side of the river, near the Silk Mill. Mr. J. W. Grover said they were now standing close to the site of the church, said to have been dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, but which he believed was St. German's Church. This low ground is the site of the ancient fishpool. A high embankment came across, and through the embankment was a square lake. Over the wall is the site of one of the ancient gates of the city. Here came the great road from London, and passed through St. Michael's churchyard.

The party proceeded up the Verulam Hills. Mr. Grover described the peculiar construction of the Roman walls,—a great feature of which, he said, a gentleman had cleverly applied to modern buildings, and had taken out a patent which he was working very successfully. The wall is built of casions, or boxes, of different kinds of material. First a layer of earth, then of flints; then the concrete is poured in, banded by a double course of bricks, and filled up to the top with more concrete.

On arriving at the road at the top of the hill, Mr. Grover said this road was, according to Stukely, the Roman Watling-street. It was not the road that passed through the centre of the city; and it was, therefore, perfectly clear that it was not the Roman Watling-street. It may have been a Watling-street; but not the *great* main road which passed from London on the other side of Verulam, through Gorham-bury. There is no doubt there was an important road along here. When they got as far as the Hemel Hempstead road, they would see a dyke or foss similar to that they had seen that morning at Beech Bottom. Many persons had supposed that at this point stood one of the principal gates of the city; but there is no authority for the supposition.

Mr. Edward Levien said that many of Dr. Stukely's assumptions were to be taken *cum grano salis*. That gentleman was very often imposed upon, and his statements are not invariably as accurate as might be desired.

On arriving at the site of the supposed Roman amphitheatre, Mr. Grove Lowe, who was to offer some observations upon it, explained that he had been deceived by an extraordinary growth of mushrooms, which he had mistaken for the amphitheatre. He was very sorry he had misled them. He was not to have the honour of being the discoverer of both the theatre and amphitheatre at Verulam.

Mr. Grover showed some Roman roof-tiles. He said the field was excavated thirty years ago.

Mr. Lowe said some tessellated pavements had been discovered in the excavations on the east side of St. Michael's churchyard.

Mr. Roberts said a great many excavations had been made, and they had endeavoured to trace the plan of the ancient city. By means of

digging trenches they had ascertained the course of the streets, and they were laid down in the map with the greatest possible accuracy. One road was 27 feet 6 inches wide, and with that exception the roads were 24 ft. 6 ins. wide between the houses. The excavations were carried out systematically; and by a small expenditure of labour, and some little judgment, they had been able to do a large amount of work.

After an inspection of some of the excavations, the party having reached St. Michael's churchyard, Mr. Grover said they were now standing almost in the centre of the city of Verulam. When graves were dug in that churchyard, they came upon very massive Roman foundations. There was a fair presumption that this was the site of the ancient Temple of Apollo. St. Michael, in Christian times, superseded the Apollo of paganism.

The excavations were then further explained by Mr. Roberts. In reference to the Theatre, he said unfortunately it had not been opened. Mr. Grover, in his paper, had shown that the Theatre at Pompeii was very much like that. Possibly there were barracks behind the Theatre. An immense quantity of bricks, bones, and pottery, had been exhumed. There were innumerable cross-walls, and it might fairly be conjectured that the structure was used for barracks.

Dr. Black regarded these remains of Verulam rather as the remains of a fortified camp than of a city. If excavations could be continued when the crop of barley had been cleared away, the whole Theatre would be then laid bare. In that case the Association would make a single day's visit to the site, in order to verify the plan of Mr. Lowe, and see for themselves the only theatre of the kind remaining in England. Mr. Grover would now offer any observations with regard to his own theory of the similitude between this city and Pompeii.

Mr. Grover said excavations were being made to discover the site of a second theatre corresponding with that at Pompeii. The spot on which they were now assembled was exactly the point where the stage of the Theatre stood. The road running out in front of the Theatre, underneath the portico, was one of the great streets of the city. With regard to the second building there was a strong presumption, almost amounting to a reasonable certainty. The foundations, he was told, were very large: much larger than these. They were evidently the foundations of a very considerable building. The question had been raised whether there was or was not a wall running along by the side of the ground, which once formed a lake, a navigable sheet of water, in the times of the Romans. The remains of anchors, chains, and different things used by fishermen, had been discovered. Along that side there seemed to be an oak plank, pitched over.

On reaching St. Michael's Church, its distinguishing features were pointed out by Mr. Edward Roberts and the vicar, the Rev. B. Hutchinson. Mr. Roberts said: "I think the inhabitants of St. Alban's may congratulate themselves on having, in this church, the only specimen of veritable Saxon remains in this neighbourhood. This church, with two others, was founded by Ulsinus, the sixth abbot of St. Alban's, about the year 948,—from that to 950, perhaps a little later. Those small brick arches you see are unquestionably of Saxon origin, as well as some other parts of the church. The ancient building was probably simply a nave, not such as you see it now. It is said that the tower at the west end was equal in width to the nave. The curious buttresses on each side of the tower may point to its having been over, and probably on, part of the foundations of the ancient tower. If there was a tower at all, I think it was of no very great altitude. At the west end I find the foundations of part of the ancient wall. It is impossible to decide whether there was formerly a tower at the west end of the church: my own belief is that there was. At that time the church would have had no clerestory such as you find it. It was probably a square-walled church, with five small windows on each side, without glass. These windows were probably a series of wooden frames covered with skin or parchment, or with strings thrown across simply to keep out the birds. As has been frequently said, it was not so necessary in those days that the people should see and hear the priest, as at a subsequent period, when they were required to join in the service with him. In the records of Saxon works this church is not mentioned by Rickman or Parker; but I hear from the vicar that Mr. Gilbert Scott preserved these arches, feeling sure, as I do, that they are the work of the original founder. Brixworth Church is also Saxon, but of an entirely different character. That was built purely in the Basilican form, of great width and height, and with clerestory windows, in all respects similar to a Roman Basilica. Parker says that in the seventh century (here we have a church of the tenth) the simpler structures were suited to the forms of worship, which were much the same as we adopt now; but when Roman Catholic usages required processional passages, aisles were added for this purpose. That seems to have been the case here; and a clerestory was added, and other additions made, which caused the closing of the upper windows. These walls were of great thickness; but as time went on the thickness became reduced; so that no churches of the present day have anything like the durability of those erected in former ages. The Saxon walls (probably about the year 1190, the transitional period between the Norman and the Early English) were pierced with four arches, and the aisles were added. The south aisle was again altered about fifty years later, to form a chantry. The altar has been for



and is now in the chancel. The piscina is later, and the rood-stairs again later. I do not know whether there was a rood-screen in the time of the Saxon church. There was most likely an arch, not more than seven or eight feet wide. The present arch is comparatively modern. The roof of the nave is of the late perpendicular period, probably of the reign of Henry VIII. The chancel roof is quite new. In that wall at the further end is a portion of a painting of the Resurrection. You will find, on one of the arches, the remains of a fresco painting, the only specimen remaining of the kind common at the time the church was altered. Outside there is a curious small square recess in the chancel, near the piscina. The most interesting monument to us, as individuals, is that of Sir Francis Bacon, who lies buried here. The vicarage of St. Michael's was assessed in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* at 20*s.* 1*d.*, the tenth of the value of £10 : 1 : 5. There are several very interesting brasses in the church, of one of which, to the memory of John Pecoock and his wife, Clutterbuck gives a description. There is one of the time of Edward I, and another brass, of the end of the fourteenth, or the beginning of the fifteenth century, which is very curious, and, I think, perfectly unique. Before I leave my post I will ask you to look at a curious instrument which was found in the excavations by the Rev. Mr. Brown. This is a flesh hook, which may have belonged to one of the abbots, or to some one else connected with the abbey. Forks were unknown in those days, and privileged people were allowed to put their hooks in the pot to hook out the flesh at their meals. May not this explain the origin of the phrase, 'By hook or by crook'? Against the pulpit is a stand for an hour-glass, made of elaborate ironwork. On the south side of the chancel is a recessed altar-canopied tomb, and the bones of an individual were found underneath it. During the restorations here the tomb was inserted in the wall. It is of the end of the fourteenth century. In the corner there is a small arched recess, of the fifteenth century, and it has been suggested there was a small chapel there. I can see no evidences of that chapel. In several churches in other counties there are similar recesses. I can only suppose they were intended as a reliquary, or to contain some image. There is no evidence to show the use of that recess."

Mr. Roberts then thanked the vicar for his kindness and courtesy to the members of the Association.

After the examination of St. Michael's Church, many of the visitors returned to the town in consequence of the pouring rain. The officers and some few of the members did, however, proceed to Gorhambury, the seat of the Earl of Verulam.

The following paper, by J. O. Halliwell, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., was read by Mr. Roberts :

“A FEW NOTES ON THE COLLECTION OF EARLY EDITIONS OF SHAKESPEARE IN THE LIBRARY OF THE EARL OF VERULAM.

“A detailed account of the valuable collection of early quarto editions of the plays of Shakespeare preserved at Gorhambury, and of their textual variations, would be of too technical a character to be suitable for public reading; but possibly a few brief general observations upon these remarkable volumes may not be unacceptable.

“The copyright of successful plays was so jealously guarded in former times by the proprietors of the theatres, and their publication considered so injurious to their interests, that most of the few dramas of Shakespeare which appeared in his life-time were printed either from short-hand notes taken during the performance, or from copies of doubtful authority surreptitiously obtained. Hence it is that some of the masterpieces of the great dramatist have most unfortunately only reached us in an imperfect state, a fact which should be recollected in estimating the importance of Shakesperian criticism, the valuable results of which would be nowhere more clearly seen than by a comparison of the old editions, such as those in the Gorhambury collection, with recent texts. King Lear, for example, that most noble of all tragedies, Hamlet excepted, can only be regarded at best as a vitiated and defective transcript of what was, in all probability, a far grander original—so corrupted, indeed, that we are only approaching by very slow degrees to anything like an intelligible text.

“The copy of King Lear at Gorhambury belongs to the rarer impression of the two earliest editions of the tragedy, both printed in 1608. The only copies of this impression known to exist, and some of them not perfect, are the present, those in the libraries of Trinity College, Cambridge, the Duke of Devonshire, the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, Mr. Lenox and Mr. Barton of New York, and that in my own collection. It was long supposed that there were three editions issued in the year 1608, but I pointed out some years ago the singular fact that, while there were only two editions of that date, no two known copies of this rarer edition agreed with each other. This strange circumstance was long a mystery to me, but it has been unravelled by the sagacity of the Cambridge editors, the Rev. W. G. Clark, and Mr. Aldis Wright, who suggested that the differences were to be accounted for by supposing that corrections were made before the sheets were all worked off, and that the corrected and uncorrected sheets were bound up indiscriminately. This explanation is as decisive as it is simple, and the Earl of Verulam's copy adds another proof, if any were necessary, to its accuracy. This copy is chiefly formed from corrected sheets. Thus, on the reverse of signature G 2, where my copy exhibits the hideous corruption, ‘*a nellthu night more,*’ the Gorhambury one

correctly reads, '*he met the night mare.*' There are dozens of such variations in the different copies.

"This edition of King Lear is the most valuable quarto in the Gorbambury collection, in a literary point of view, but it is by no means the rarest. There is here found a copy of the Hamlet of 1605, the only other perfect copy known being that in the Capell collection. There is also the Richard the Third of 1602, the only other copies known being those in the libraries of the Duke of Devonshire and the British Museum. These are all of great value, and would alone suffice to render any library famous. Lovers of Shakesperian literature will rejoice and be grateful to know that they fortunately belong to a nobleman who generously permits their use in aid of legitimate research."

After the manuscripts referred to in Mr. Halliwell's paper, and various other valuable books, MSS., and curiosities, both literary and artistic, had been exhibited by his lordship, and the warm thanks of the Association had been expressed to him for his kindness and courtesy, the members returned to St. Alban's, where the evening meeting was held under the presidency of the Rev. W. J. Lawrance.

After Mr. Roberts had given his customary account of the day's proceedings, and read some of the most interesting portions of Mr. Halliwell's paper, he said :

"Amongst other things the Earl of Verulam was so kind as to show us were some manuscripts, chiefly referring to his own family. One of these ancient documents was a grant of king Henry II, confirming a grant of Henry I to St. Alban's Abbey. There were several documents bearing the signature of Sir Francis Bacon, and one or two settlements by Sir Francis Bacon on Alice, his wife. There is another interesting document there, signed by Justice Sir George Crook, in the case of the king against Hampden, dated the 14th April, 1638, wherein is given his reasons for his judgment against Hampden, who was fined twenty shillings.

"Amongst other things, we saw a cast, taken from the face of Cromwell after death ; and a miniature of Junius Brutus, which was evidently not taken during his lifetime, but many centuries afterwards. His lordship also showed us the remains of a most magnificent glass bottle of Roman work. It had been so long underground that it is in a very delicate state, and can scarcely be handled. I hope to be able to get a drawing of it, and print it. The specimen is of great beauty and exceeding rarity. It was found in St. Michael's churchyard, and it is of so refined a character that I could scarcely believe it belonged to the British age of Roman art."

Mr. Lowe said, with regard to the ruins at Sopwell, it was only very ill-informed people who could imagine they were the remains of the nunnery. It was quite clear they were the ruins of the house built by

Sir Richard Lee, after the nunnery had been granted to him by Henry VIII, as a reward for his services in France. He had in his own possession a plan of the manor of Sopwell, with the house of Sir Richard Lee standing upon it. With regard to Keyfield, no battle ever took place there. The fighting took place near the spot where they were assembled; it was rather a massacre than a battle. The Duke of Somerset was killed near a public-house called "The Castle," the deeds of which, about two hundred years old, he had had in his possession.

Mr. G. W. Lydekker said, in reference to the Roman glass decanter in the possession of the Earl of Verulam, that it had been faithfully copied by Minton, and he had a copy of it himself.

Mr. Roberts said that Lord Verulam had informed him that five or six makers had attempted to copy it, but had not quite succeeded.

After Mr. Roberts had concluded his remarks, Dr. Black said:

"Last night I expressed a wish that on the plan of the city exhibited, there should be a demonstration of the extent to which the wall is known to exist; and there was a question whether the wall had existed along the edge of the water. I said it was very desirable this should be ascertained; and undoubtedly it has been shown to-day that the wall did exist. A trench cut through the field has reached the wall, of the breadth of six feet and upwards. This is clearly in a line with the rest of the wall, and proves that that place which is regarded as the site of the city, though I cannot believe it is so *exclusively*, was fortified all round. I postpone any other observations with reference to ancient Verulam till I read a short paper on the subject."

Mr. Lowe said: "I have frequently exhibited a plan of the city, showing that the entire area of Verulam was walled round."

Mr. Roberts: Did you find the wall all round?

Mr. Lowe: I have at various points.

Mr. Grover: We had to dig a trench to see the wall.

Mr. Lowe: The position of the wall was perfectly clear. We made no statement, nor laid anything down in the plan that we could not actually prove.

Mr. John Evans, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., observed that it would be a pity for the Association to go away thinking that the local antiquaries had not taken sufficient pains to ascertain all that they could about the old wall. They had, he could assure the Association, been most anxious on the subject; and the necessary information was obtained partly from the land, which showed there was a wall, and indicated its exact position.

Dr. W. H. Black, F.S.A., then delivered a lecture upon "the Town Records of St. Alban's," which will be found at pp. 143-9 *ante*; and John Evans, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A. V.P., one "Upon Ancient British Coins, more especially those of Verulam," which will be printed here-

after. He illustrated his remarks by reference to numerous drawings hung round the room, of a great many examples of the various types and specimens which had been mentioned by him in the course of his lecture.

After the thanks of the meeting had been unanimously voted to the Chairman, Dr. Black, and Mr. John Evans, the proceedings were brought to a close.

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### ON ANCIENT BRITISH COINS, MORE ESPECIALLY THOSE OF VERULAM.

A REPORT OF A LECTURE DELIVERED AT ST. ALBAN'S.

BY JOHN EVANS, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P.

I HAVE been asked to give the Association a short account of the ancient British coinage, more especially of those coins which were struck in the ancient city of Verulam. Most of us who have been over the site of that city, and have seen the number of Roman remains found there, would hardly look back to a more distant period than that represented by the Roman remains before us. But that city was previously occupied by British tribes, by whom the name of Verulam was originally given to it. In the same way as this now ancient town of St. Alban's rose from the ruins of the former ancient Roman town of Verulam, so the Roman town of Verulam occupied the site of one of those places of habitation erected by the ancient Britons. If we wish to examine the condition of the people who occupied a town of that kind, and of such magnitude that at one period it formed the capital city, the most extensive and principal city in the south of Britain, we can hardly find, at this day, a better criterion of the state of civilisation which those people possessed, than that presented by the coins of ancient Verulam. Your President, in the admirable address he delivered to you on Monday, pointed out how mistaken is the idea of supposing that the British inhabitants of this country, at the time of Cæsar's invasion, were mere savages,

and he gave various examples of a certain degree of civilisation among them. What I have to say will lead to the same conclusion; and I think that, at all events, a more appropriate term to apply to them would be that of "barbarians" rather than of "savages".

We find, looking at the history of those days as given by Cæsar and other historians, that the occupants of this country at that time were not all of one race; but that they consisted of two (if not more) very distinct races of people. In Cæsar's time we are told by him that those who occupied the south-eastern and more maritime parts of the country consisted of tribes who had principally migrated from contiguous parts of the Continent, and still preserved nearly the same language, and in some cases were even under the same chiefs as those who ruled on the Continent. These tribes had made an inroad into Great Britain, driving backward into more remote parts (to the north, and towards Wales) the other tribes who had previously been occupants of this maritime district.

Travellers of the present day, when they wish to paint the character of the inhabitants of a newly discovered country, are far more likely to take particular notice of those features in which they vary considerably from people with whom they are already acquainted, than of those respects in which they resemble them. In the same way you generally find that in histories and chronicles you have not the ordinary life of the people recorded, but rather those extraordinary events to which the chroniclers assign the greatest importance. Therefore, with regard to the statements of Roman historians as to the extreme barbarism and savagery of some of the tribes of ancient Britons, we may assume they do not relate to the whole of the inhabitants of the country; but rather to some exceptional members, even of those tribes which were driven towards the interior.

We find, even in later times than those of Cæsar, that there were certain tribes amongst whom no knowledge of agriculture subsisted, who only had flocks and herds; and others to whom the credit, at all events, was given of being cannibals. But in this part of the country, and all along the southern coast, at the time of Cæsar's invasion, there must have been a considerable degree of civilisation, which is, I think, better to be defined by the coins we find of that

period than by any other means. In former times a good many antiquaries held that there were no British coins whatever that could with certainty be assigned a date earlier than that of the invasion of Cæsar. This opinion was mainly founded on a passage in which the historian speaks of iron rings being in use as money instead of gold and silver. This passage is notoriously corrupt. Passages in other historians contemporary (or almost so) with Cæsar, show there must have been a knowledge of precious metals prevalent in this country.

We must set aside that statement of Cæsar for a time, to consider what other general history would lead us to infer as to the condition of this country. We find that at a very early period there was commerce with Britain for tin, dating back several hundred years before Christ. The traders crossed through Gaul until they arrived at the Greek colonies in the south of France, the merchants of which colonies exported it to other parts of the civilised world. The inhabitants of that part of France known as Brittany were an enterprising race, and carried on commerce by sea with the south-eastern part of Britain. They also had extensive commerce southwards, through Gaul, with Greek merchants. Besides that, there appears unmistakeable evidence that there was close intercourse between that part of England nearest the Continent and Northern Gaul. It is to that intercourse with Gaul we must look for the origin of British coinage.

Coinage generally is not of so great an antiquity as is commonly supposed by a number of those who consider themselves antiquaries. In modern days the limits to which coinage is carried back are better defined than they used to be in former times. Certainly, if we take the seventh or eighth century before Christ, as the earliest period in which coins were in use, we shall not be far wrong. The coinage of Massilia possibly dates about six hundred years before Christ, and for a long time the Greek colonists continued to strike only silver coins which were current in the neighbouring parts of Gaul. You generally find that the currency of Greece was silver and copper, gold being comparatively unknown till there came into the possession of Philip II of Macedon gold mines so prolific that they produced year by year an amount of gold little short of a quarter of a million sterling of our money.

These coins of Philip remained in circulation hundreds of years after his death, and are mentioned by Horace. I have here a representation of one of them. On the obverse side you see a head, probably of the youthful Hercules. On the reverse is the figure of a two-horse chariot, and the name of the king. In attempting to fix a date for our ancient British coinage, of which that is the prototype, we may either trace it down, following its successive mutations; or else, taking some well known coin, whose date is ascertained, trace it upwards as far as we can, studying in each case the coins from which each successive moneyer copied. We must pursue very much the same course, in this study of numismatics, as in the study of geology and palæontology. We have no written history to guide us in the earlier part of our studies; and it is only by ascertaining the places where coins, like fossils, have been found, and by tracing the succession of different types in the same way as we trace the succession of different types in the animal kingdom, that we are able to assign any chronological scale to this coinage. In the case of coins of this kind, struck among barbarous nations, there is a great rule—in point of fact two great rules which prevail. The first of these is the same as that which we find to prevail in nature. You find there is a general and certain tendency to retain those types which are the most advantageous in the position in which they are placed, and to make them permanent until they are superseded by some others better adapted for the position they are destined to occupy. In this respect it is like the law of natural selection; but in a barbarous coinage another law comes in. The great object of human ingenuity in early days, as well as at present, was to produce the greatest amount of show with the smallest possible amount of trouble. Accordingly you will find in all copies, that the most salient portions of the prototype are those most readily imitated; and they are then exaggerated until they become the principal types, minor details being omitted. Moreover, among savages there is a great tendency to reduce everything, as far as possible, in the shape of ornament, to some regular, almost geometrical pattern. By tracing these coins back to their prototype, we can ascertain, within certain limits, the succession of the different types. I think the best plan will be to point out, on the diagrams on the walls, a

few of these coins, showing you how their types have been derived from the original you see before you.

I will begin with something which may, perhaps, appear most unlikely to have been derived from the head of Apollo. You see this cruciform ornament. That, startling as it may appear, is a direct, legitimate descendant from the head of Apollo. You observe a tendency among the coins for the type to assume a cruciform appearance. Here is a regular cross. From that coin with the cross upon it to that with the head, you will see, I will not say identity of type, but evident derivation. By tracing the Apollo downwards from the Philippus, we may arrive, through a number of intermediate forms, to his legitimate descendants, who appear utterly unlike their grandfather. On the reverse, in the same manner, the *biga* with the Victory becomes reduced to a simple horse, of which occasionally but little more than the legs can be traced.

Knowing the date of the two extremes of the series, we may form some idea as to the date of the various intermediate forms. Here another law comes in. It has always been the practice with kings and all governing bodies (whom for the moment we will call kings), when there has been a revision of the currency, and a fresh coinage struck, never to issue too weighty coins; but there has always been a slight reduction in their weight. You will find, for instance, that our penny began with a pennyweight of silver of twenty-four grains, which by successive insensible diminutions has been reduced to seven grains and a quarter. The Philippus weighs one hundred and thirty-two grains; and most of the British gold coins, with ascertained dates, about eighty-four grains. It is evident that such a reduction could hardly have taken place in a single generation. There are, in fact, numerous intermediate types of various weights, the heaviest in this country being about one hundred and twenty grains. On the whole, reckoning by variation in type, and by diminution in weight, we have arrived at the opinion that coinage must have been introduced into this country as early as one hundred and fifty years before Christ, if not earlier.

With regard to the method by which these coins were struck, we find dies not made of steel, as is usually the case, but of brass cast in a particular manner, and inserted in an iron collar to prevent its spreading. By that means single



coins furnished a number of dies without any great aid from the engraver to make them perfect.

The early coins I have before me may be divided into two classes,—uninscribed and inscribed, those without any name upon them being the earlier. I know no instance of any coin bearing an inscription dating back as early as Cæsar, fifty-four years before Christ. At the same time we find that even during the period of inscribed coins they continued to strike also uninscribed coins. Such coins were issued at this city of Verulam.

In giving a general account of British coinage it will be necessary to distinguish the various tribes which occupied this country, each of whom must have had a separate coinage, unless in certain cases where one chief reigned over more than one tribe. There is a great difficulty in determining the areas these tribes occupied at the time of the coinage. We know that certain types of coin are found in certain counties; but it is almost impossible to be absolutely sure that they were struck by any particular tribe whose name has come down to us. We find names of tribes given by Cæsar which have entirely disappeared by the time of Ptolemy. In other cases, the territory occupied by these tribes must have been considerably enlarged. The signs of civilisation we find connected with the ancient Britons; and no doubt the wars which were being carried on with contiguous tribes render it likely that the area occupied by different tribes was constantly varying.

I will give you a few instances, merely by way of illustration, of the coinage of the different districts. I have principally brought you illustrations of the coins at Verulam and of the western district, in which, perhaps, the latest British coins are found. Some of these were struck by a prince named Antedrigus, one of the princes of the Iceni in Norfolk. In the same district there are other coins of the same type, but with different legends. Nearer to that part of Britain where Cæsar landed, we find coins struck by Comius, mentioned by Cæsar, who had three sons, each of whom struck coins, so far as we are able to judge from the districts in which they are found in separate territories, in Kent, Hampshire and Sussex. Eppillus struck a number of extremely well executed coins, and apparently, like a great many other British chiefs, must have obtained the assistance of

Roman artists. This may explain the curious fact of the similarity between the coins of Eppillus in Kent, and those struck at Verulam. Eppillus seems to have been succeeded by another prince named Dubnovellaunus, whose name was only known of late years, and was ascertained from a singular source. There is a mention of this prince in early history, preserved in the monument of the Emperor Augustus in a temple in Asia Minor. By his will he directed that the great events of his reign should be recorded on tablets which are preserved in a temple at Ancyra, and have been interpreted by Mr. Hamilton and others. On these tablets the name of the British prince, Dubnovellaunus, appears in the list of those who had sought refuge with the Roman emperor.

We now come to the prince whose chief capital was the city of Verulam, and whose name was only ascertained by the fortunate conjecture of Mr. Birch. His name was Tasciovanus, and there is no doubt whatever of his capital having been the ancient city. Nearly all the coins on these diagrams were struck by Tasciovanus. You have here the remains of the head of Apollo; and on the reverse a horse with a bull's head above. There is a remarkable feature beneath it,—a snake-like ornament. The artist who engraved the die of that coin had an idea that there ought to be a two-horse chariot on the reverse; and this ornament is, in fact, a monument to the memory of the hind legs of the second horse. Above is the legend TASCIA. This next coin bears on the reverse a horseman carrying in his hand a *cornu*, or war-trumpet, in use amongst the Britons. Below I have shown some silver coins of this king,—the first has TASCIO in the reverse; and VER, for Verulam, the name of the town, on the obverse. The next coin omits the name of the king, and gives only the name of the town, showing that it was an important place. The other coin of Tasciovanus is of great interest. It is a direct imitation of a coin of Augustus, with a bull on the reverse; and therefore we are able to ascertain the date as being after that of Augustus, which was struck A.D. 12. A silver coin found in Verulam is in the possession of Mr. Grove Lowe. It bears a cruciform ornament, and apparently the letters VERL on the obverse; and a boar, a favourite ensign amongst the Germanic tribes, on the reverse. Further on are a number of copper coins bearing the name of this place at full length, but without

the name of the king, and with an ornament formed of two interlacing squares, something similar to the design we get on the shields amongst the Gauls and Britons. On the obverse is the word VERLAMIO (struck at Verulam), and on the reverse a bull. That is one of the most interesting coins, as it gives the name of the town at full length below. Another coin of the same mint bears the name of Tasciovanus. On the reverse is a very singular device, apparently a variety of the Centaur, with two musical instruments. That design must have been borrowed from a Roman artist, a double pipe being one of the instruments in use at Rome. Here is a coin not bearing the name of the king, but apparently struck by Tasciovanus. It bears on the reverse a *hippocampus*, or sea-horse, undoubtedly an animal of classic rather than British origin.

I must now say a few words in regard to the family of Tasciovanus, in closing this subject of the British coinage. I also want to point out what the coins at Verulam lead us to infer concerning the civilisation of this part of the country at that period. We all know that the number of coins, and, in fact, that the existence of coinage, to a great extent, depends upon the sale of goods from one person to another,—the exchange against metal, or sale, as opposed to mere barter; and that in the most highly civilised countries there exists the greatest variety of coins. At Verulam they had a large gold coin, almost answering to our sovereign; and a gold coin of a quarter the weight, almost answering to our crown. They had only one coin in silver, and it is impossible to say what relation it bore to the gold coins. Of copper coins they had no less than three varieties of size. There are the large coins weighing about sixty-eight grains, others weighing thirty-four grains, and the smaller coins about seventeen grains. People requiring coins weighing no more than seventeen grains, and having no less than six varieties of coin in circulation, do not deserve to be termed savages, and it is doubtful whether they ought to be stigmatised as barbarians.

After Tasciovanus the coinage at Verulam ceases, so far as we are aware. Tasciovanus had two sons, one of whom, Cunobeline (the Cymbeline of Shakespeare) caused his coins to be struck at Camulodunum or Colchester. I have a coin here struck at that place. We have the horse on the reverse; and on the obverse the head of Apollo assumes the form of

an ear of corn: the only part that has become permanent being the laurel wreath, at the expense of the whole head, the other portions of which have disappeared. Those coins also bear the name of Camulodunum on the obverse. On some of his copper coins we get the name of the king in full, Cunobeli. On other coins we get his name associated with that of his father, Tasciovanus. It appears probable that he must have been chief of the Trinobantes.

Tasciovanus, in addition to these coins of Verulam, had other coins, struck, apparently, at different towns; some, on which the word SEGO occurs, seem to have been struck among the tribe of the Segontiaci, which possibly came under the rule of his son, Epaticeus, who appears to have inherited the western part of the dominion of Tasciovanus.

At the time of the death of Cunobeline, about the year 42 or 43, the dominions under his rule fell into a state of anarchy, and Roman interference was called for. From that period the greater part of South Britain came under Roman rule, and the native coinage ceased. But it did not cease further north, and among the Iceni, but was carried on till the year 55 or probably 60. Their coinage was principally silver. In Yorkshire also the coinage is of later date. You will see there one of the Yorkshire coins, in which the head and face of Apollo assume the utmost degree of degeneracy of which they are capable. You will observe the wreath traversing the coin, and trace the intermediate steps between that and the complete design, its connexion with which it has become almost impossible to recognise. Here is one of the Icenian coins, which also continues of the same type. You find upon that the name of the tribe, ECEN, which shows that the name has been preserved in a comparatively uninjured form.

I trust that I have, to some extent, succeeded in interesting you in this series of coins; and I hope any of you who take a particular interest in coins will examine the collection I shall have great pleasure in showing you on Friday next. Perhaps I may be allowed to express the satisfaction I feel in here stating my views with regard to the origin and date of British coinage; from the fact that those opinions, which are now generally accepted by almost all numismatologists and antiquaries, were first brought forward by me twenty years ago in this very building.

## ON FANS—THEIR ANTIQUITY AND USES.

BY HENRY F. HOLT, ESQ.

AMONG the many interesting, as well as important events connected with the nineteenth century which will deserve a place in the records of future historians of Britain's greatness, assuredly one of its distinguishing characteristics will be the encouragement of that substantial connection between art and manufactures which at this moment so seriously occupies the attention of some of the most enlightened men in the kingdom, as well as the earnest and praiseworthy endeavours made to trace each branch from its earliest development through its varied phases of improvement towards perfection; and to place the result of their labours before the rising generation as a wholesome stimulant to encourage and foster nascent talent, as well as promote the growing desire to render the ornamental useful, and the useful ornamental, thereby securing the refinement of the one, and the dignity of the other.

At the same time, those who have devoted their time and experience to promote art-industry have sought to secure its support by deserving that public appreciation, without which, labour is but vain and unproductive. The latest movement in this direction is about to be developed by the Loan Exhibition at South Kensington (under the patronage of the "Science and Art Department of the Committee of Council on Education"), of fans of all ages and descriptions, from which it is hoped a result may be attained which will prove an extended means of instructing women in a useful branch of art wherein their capabilities may be fairly tested, and properly remunerated.

The subject of "fans" thus acquiring an exceptional temporary interest, and believing that a few observations upon them in an archæological sense may not be considered as ill-timed, I venture to ask your attention to the consideration of their antiquity and uses. Our first thoughts connected with the fan refer almost naturally to those tropical climates where

it has been, not only an object of absolute necessity, but one of the remotest antiquity. Nature indeed, with that bounty which bespeaks the wisdom of an Almighty power, has afforded the natives of those countries, not only the blessing of an ever repeated protection, but suggested for their adoption those forms which are best calculated to secure the desired object with the greatest possible effect, combined with that which is at once graceful and beautiful.

It is worthy of remark that every Scriptural reference to fans is strictly confined to their mechanical use, as contradistinguished from their utility as a means of agitating the air for the sake of coolness. Although, however, the sacred writings are silent as to the use of fans for personal purposes, ancient art has bequeathed us some very early instances of their being so applied, as indicated on the walls of the tombs at Thebes, wherein Pharaoh is represented, surrounded by his "fan-bearers."

The Egyptian treasures in the British Museum also satisfactorily prove the fan to have been an article of female taste and luxury with that ancient race, who appear to have applied it to purposes altogether unconnected with the uses to which it is generally employed. Thus, in the grottoes of Eileithuia a man is represented fanning a water-vase for the purpose of cooling the water. Rossellini has also given a drawing on this subject (M. C. xxxix), where the man is using a fan with a handle, the "fan" being a palm-leaf.

So far as relates to the use of the fan in China and Japan, it has, from time immemorial, formed an integral part of the national costume; and even at the present time, the fan case indicates the official grade and authority of the wearer. The Chinaman, indeed, is never without his fan, which he carries altogether irrespective of either season or weather.

With the Romans and Grecians the fan played an important part in domestic life, being commonly used by both sexes in their baths, after which, whilst reposing on their couches, they were attended by young slaves, male and female, whose province it was to fan them, and who were known as "flabelliferæ," their duty being to agitate the fan about their masters, to protect them whilst sleeping, as well from insects as from heat. During their promenades, these slaves followed, carrying baskets, in which they placed the

fans when not wanted for use. (Plautus' *Trinum.*, act ii, sec. 1, verse 252).

The fan was also used by Greek women to keep up the fires used in their sacrifices, representations of which may be seen upon Greek vases of the earliest periods. In the later works of the Greeks and Romans, whenever it is a question of luxury and a woman's toilet, they always mention fans of peacocks' feathers, which were made of two kinds—one to drive away the flies, called by the Greeks "myiosobè," and by the Romans, "muscaria pavonina,"—and the other for personal use, called "rhipis" or "psygma". The leaves of the Lotus plant were also extensively used by the Greek and Roman ladies (Propertius ii, 24, 11), as well as feathers of brilliant colours (Martial iii, 82). They did not, however, open and shut, but were fixtures with long handles, that form being best adapted to the manner in which they were employed—that is, to enable one person to fan another. The sketches I now submit to you will convey a correct notion of the fans to which I especially allude.

No. 1 shows Cupid as "flabellifer" to Ariadne, who deplores the loss of her lover; and is taken from a painting at Pompeii.

No. 2 represents a Grecian lady holding a fan of feathers tastefully arranged, and without exterior margin; whilst Nos. 3 and 4 exhibit the feather fans used by slaves, which are lightly framed, doubtless for the purpose of imparting additional strength to them. No. 5 is a lady's fan of peacocks' feathers taken from a painting discovered at Stabia. As specimens of fans made from the Lotus leaf, I invite your attention to two drawings, the larger representing "a fan held by a Venus," No. 6, from a painting at Herculaneum; and the smaller one, No. 7, taken from a picture at Pompeii.

The "fan" seems to have been a favourite theme with ancient classical authors, among whom may be mentioned Martial, Athenæus, Nonnus, Propertius, and Claudianus. Terence, also, in his *Eunuch*, makes Chorea relate to Antiphon, that, being disguised as an eunuch to enter the house of Thais, the attendant of that courtesan gave him the order—"Take this fan and give her thus a little air," alluding to the young Pamphilia who was then asleep. In like manner Ovid, in his *Art of Love*, in mentioning the attentions

necessary to propitiate the fair sex, states that their good graces might often be secured in acknowledgment for having refreshed them with a fan. The Greek tragic Muse also deals with the subject, as may be found in the *Orestes* of Euripides, wherein a Phrygian eunuch reports that, "according to the custom of his country, he had fanned with a fan of feathers the cheeks and waving ringlets of Helen whilst sleeping."

Numerous other instances of direct allusions to the fan by ancient authors might be given, but the above will suffice to show the interest which attached to its varied uses and forms. In the transition between the fan of the Romans and that used in the middle ages, it is interesting to be able to announce the preservation of a fan of the sixth century, not only believed to be unique, but which is made of a material and in a shape I venture to hope you will consider worthy especial attention. This ancient fan is preserved in the Treasury of Modocum (now called Monza, ten miles north-east of Milan), and belonged to Théodelinde, Queen of Antharis, King of the Lombards (to whom she was married in 589, and became his widow in 593). It is made of a long and narrow strip of leather, folded screen fashion, the pleats being united at one end by a string. Among the ornaments and gilding with which it is in part relieved there are traces of a Latin inscription, now almost illegible.

Leaving for a short time the consideration of the fan as a personal luxury, I propose to introduce it to your notice in its application to the religious offices of the Romish and Greek churches, wherein it was very anciently and extensively used, and commonly described as a "flabellum," its use being to drive away all insects from the consecrated elements, and to fan the officiating priest, as seen in this sketch.

Macri (*Hiero-Lexic.* ad h. v.) describes it as "Flabellum seu flabrum, ventulum muscarium, instrumentum, quo ventilando muscæ, calidumque circumambiens, aer expelluntur." The earliest record I have been able to find which notices the use of the "flabellum" in the Christian religious services is in the *Constitutions Apostoliques* (viii, 9), wherein it is said, that during the celebration of the communion two deacons, placed at either end of the altar, continually agitated a fan, ordinarily made of peacocks' feathers, for the

purposes above-mentioned. This practice is also thus noticed in the *Consuet. Cluniac.*:—"Unus autem ministrorum qui semper duo esse debent, stans cum flabello propter sacerdotem ex quo muscarium infestatio exurgere incipit, donec finiatur—eas arcere a sacrificio et ab altari seu ab ipso sacerdote non negligit."

In very ancient times the flabellum was included among the precious objects exhibited by the Church on fête days. Representations of them may also be seen in the manuscript illuminations of the eleventh century. D'Agincourt has published an ancient paten found in the catacombs in Rome, on which a "flabellum" was *engraved*.

From the most reliable authorities it appears that the "flabellum" was especially entrusted to the deacons of the church. In the life of St. Nicholas it is said that "St. Athanasius" filled the office of "Minister of the flabellum." In the ordination of a deacon in the Greek Church the officiating priest, among other insignia of office, always included the "flabellum," called in the Greek Church *ῥηπίδιον*. Deaconesses were, however, strictly excluded from being entrusted with the "flabellum" for reasons which may easily be left to the imagination.

The "flabella" of the church were ordinarily made of peacocks' feathers, of fine parchment, or of palm leaves. The "flabellum" of the Greeks was fixed at the end of a handle of wood, and assumed the form of a cherubim with six wings; whilst those used by the Maronites and Armenians were of a circular form, covered with plated metal, to which small bells were attached. The flabellum, however, ceased to be used in the ceremonies of the Romish Church during the fourteenth century, the only trace of it in modern times being reserved for the Sovereign Pontiff, who still has carried before him, on grand occasions, two large fans of peacocks' feathers. "Hodie, in ecclesia Romana, cum summus pontifex solemniter celebraturus procedit duo flabella ex pennis pavonum compacta huic inde portantur, sed nullus eorum intra missam usus est" (*Bona—Rer. Liturg.*).

The only known instance of a "flabellum" having survived the destruction of time, is that from the ancient abbey of Saint Philibert at Tournus (an ancient town of Burgundy), and which dates as far back as the ninth century. The importance attached to this relic may be imagined from the

fact that its present possessor—the very eminent collector, Mons. Carrand, of Lyons—prizes it among the most valued of his rare and precious objects of art. From the circumstance of its being believed to be unique, and the exceptional interest which attaches to it, I venture to offer you a detailed description of it.

It is made of parchment, and has a bone handle of cylindrical form, divided into sections by bosses of bone stained a green colour. This handle supports a capital, on which is placed the stock of the “flabellum,” formed of a rectangular box, made of plates of bone, fastened together by bands of the same substance, coloured green.

On the handle are represented vine leaves and birds, and on two of the bosses are the words + S.M.RIA—S.AGN—S.FILIB.+ IOHEL.ME.FECIT.IN.HONORE MARIAE.

On the four sides of the capital are four Apostles, St. Peter being represented as standing. On the surfaces of the box are six subjects, which appear to have been borrowed from the *Georgics*. On the sides the foliage and branches are entwined with men and birds.

The parchment is folded into pleats, which open in a circular form. It is ornamented on both sides with two zones, the exterior being composed of foliage, and the inner one of Saints and ornaments, framed by the following inscription in letters of gold on a purple ground :—

Flaminis hoc donum, regnator summe polorum  
 Oblatum puro pectore sume libens.  
 Virgo parens XPI voto celebraris eodem.  
 Hic coleris pariter tu, Filiberte sacer.  
 Sunt quæ quæ modicum confert estate flabellum ;  
 Infestas abicit muscas et mitigat æstus,  
 Et sine dat tedio munus gustare ciborum.  
 Propter ea calidum qui vult transire per annum  
 Et tutus cupit ab atris existere muscis  
 Omni se studeat æstate munire flabello.  
 Hoc decus eximium pulchro moderamine gestum  
 Condecet in sacro semper adesse loco :  
 Namque suo volucres infestas flamine pellit,  
 Et strictim motus longius ire facit.  
 Hoc quoque flabellum tranquillitas excitat auras.  
 Æstus dum sevit ventum facit atque serenum,  
 Fugat et obscenas importunasque volucres.

It may interest you to know that Mons. de Sommerard has published this “flabellum” in two large plates, of which

one is inserted in his *Atlas des Arts du Moyen Age* (chap. xiv, pl. iv), and the other in his *Album* (ix series, pl. xvii). Both well deserve a careful inspection.

The flabellum is also often mentioned in ancient records of the Church; and, as they confirm the uses and practices which I have mentioned, I venture to adduce a few instances derived from Du Cange. 1. A "flabellum argenteum ad muscis a sacrificiis abigendas." (Inventory of the ancient Abbey of St. Riquier, six miles north-east of Abbeville, in France.) 2. "Flabellum factum de serico et auro, ad repellendas muscas et immunda." (Inventory of the Cathedral of Amiens, France.) 3. "Ij flabella de serico et pergameno." (Inventory of Salisbury.) 4. "Unum flabellum de serico cum virga eburneæ." (Inventory of Rochester.) 5. "Unum muscatorium de pennis pavonum." (Inventory of St. Paul's, London.) 6. "I muscifugium de peacock." (Inventory of the Chappelle of W. Exeter, Abbé de Bury St. Edmund.) 7. "For a bessume of pekoks fethers, ivd." (Accounts of Walderswick, near Southwold, in Suffolk.) 8. "Manubrium flabelli argenteum deauratum ex dono Joh. Newton, thesaurarii cum ymagine Episcopi in fine enamedly poud v une." (Inventory of John Newton, treasurer of York Cathedral.)

Resuming once more the consideration of the fan as an object of female toilette, history has preserved several instances of its use in the fourteenth century, which seem to deserve at least a passing notice. At that period the "fan" was commonly described in France, as an "esmouchoir," and under that denomination Du Cange mentions "Un esmouchoir de soye broudé, vi, s.p." mentioned in the Inventory of Clémence, daughter of Charles I, King of Hungary, and Queen of Louis X of France, to whom she was married in 1315, and died 1328.

2. "Un esmouchoir de drap d'or, a fleur-de-lys, escartelé des armes de France et de Navarre a un baston d'yvoire et de geste, prisé v francs d'or." (Inventory of Jehanne d'Evreux, Queen of Navarre, only daughter of Louis X, married in 1316 to Philip Count d'Evreux. She died in 1349, leaving a high reputation for piety.)

3. "Un esmouchoir rond, qui se ploye, en yvoire, aux armes de France et de Navarre a'un Manche d'ybenus." (Inventory of Charles V, King of France, 1337-1384.)

4. "Un esmouchoir à tout le manche d'argent." (Inventory of the Countess Mahaut d'Artois.)

Occasionally the fan is described in the fourteenth century as a "Banner," as appears from the following entries in the Inventory of King Charles :—

"Trois bannieres ou esmouchoirs, de cuir doré—dont les deux ont les manches d'argent dorez."

"Deux bannieres de France pour esmouchir le Roy quand il est a table, semées de fleurs-de-lys brodée de perles."

A curious entry also appears in the letter of the Queen of Charles, who, in alluding to a criminal prosecution against some manufacturer of spurious coin, wrote :—"Le suppliant trouva d'aventure vn esventour de plumes, duquel il esceuta lefeu—ou l'on faisoit la ditte fausse monnoye."

The last instance I propose to mention is, an entry in the Inventory of Isabella of France, daughter of Philip the Fair, who, in 1307, became Queen of England as the wife of Edward II. "Duo flagella pro muscis fugandis."

From the above extracts we not only arrive at a knowledge of the names, shapes, and objects of the various fans used in Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but the materials of which they were composed, which seem to have included embroidered cloth of gold, silk, parchment, feathers, ivory, and leather; the handles being of gold, silver gilt, silver, ebony, and ivory.

It is now generally accepted as a fact that the practice of using fans in England was introduced in the reign of Henry VIII, and that in 1523 they were carried as well in winter as in summer, being divided into two classes, viz., the walking fan and the dress fan. The former was of prodigious size, with handles half-a-yard long, and was carried out of doors, either to church or promenade, and screened the face from the rays of the sun in as complete a manner as the parasol of the nineteenth century. The "dress fan" was, of course, considerably less in size, and altogether more elegant in form, as well as of costly materials. This luxury seems to have reached its culminating point in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, whose love for fans was so great that on her decease her Inventory included no less than "twenty-seven fannes," many of them of exceeding beauty, and one at least valued at £400.

As was the custom in the time of Elizabeth, her courtiers



were in the habit of making her presents, and among the list was mentioned a fan given to her by Sir Francis Drake, which was thus described as—"A fanne of ffethers white and red, the handle of golde enamaled with a halfe moone garnished with sparks of dyamonds and a few seede perles on th'one side having her Majesty's picture within it, and on the back side a device with a crowne over it."

In like manner Sir John Puckering (in 1595), upon the occasion of the Queen's dining at his house at Kew, on alighting, presented her with a "fine fanne with a handle garnisht with diamonds."

It is also mentioned in Nicholls' *Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. ii, p. 118,—That on the arrival of her Majesty at Hawsted, in 1578, she dropped her "silver-handled fan" into the moat; and in a note the learned editor has set forth some interesting remarks, as well as given drawings of four fans (Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7), which I now submit to you.

The fans in Elizabeth's time were far more costly than at present, £40 being a moderate price for an ordinary one. A substitute for peacocks' feathers had been found, viz., those of the ostrich, for which Venice was then, and for a long period continued to be, the principal emporium for supplying them to all Europe; and in no country were they more extensively used than in England. The feathers were usually laid flat, but sometimes clustered like a powder puff, and were inserted into handles of gold, silver, and ivory beautifully wrought; and, as the luxury progressed, and the middle classes aped the ladies of the nobility, they marked their superiority in the social circle of life by having the handles of their fans inlaid with gems and studded with diamonds.

In addition, however, to the feathers of the ostrich and the peacock, those of the parrot and Indian crow were also extensively used for fans. It was also the custom for ladies in Elizabeth's time to either carry a pocket looking-glass, or to have one inserted in their fans.<sup>1</sup> Of this fashion Brantome gives us an example in his allusion to Eleanor of Austria, the Queen of Francis I of France (1498-1558), who possessed—"Un éventail avec un miroir dedans, tous garnis, de pierreries de grande valeur."

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal*, xvii, 286.

A mode of wearing the fan was by attaching it to the waist of a lady by a chain of gold, from which depended different objects, and amongst them a fan, the costly handles of which naturally rendered them great objects of attraction to the light-fingered gentry, who in those times abounded in all classes of society.

In the time of James I the use of the fan was adopted by men as well as the fair sex. They were, however, of enormous size, with a long handle, with which occasionally, both fathers and mothers “slasht their daughters in the time of their besom discipline, even when grown to womanhood” (*Manners and Customs of Ancient Lands*, by James Pillar Malcolm, F.S.A., London, 1811).

Sir William Dugdale mentions that he saw Sir Edward Coke, the Lord Chief Justice, ride the circuit with such a fan. The Earl of Manchester was also in the habit of using one. In the instances I have cited, in all probability, personal comfort was the inducing cause for their adoption, but when the beaux of the day carried feather fans in their hands it seems to have roused the attention and ire of sensible men. Thus, we find several instances in which the fashion was severely censured. Shakespeare speaks of it as “those remnants of fool and feather that they have got from France,” whence the objectionable practice is supposed to have come. Bishop Hall also, in describing a fashionable gallant, wrote :—

“When a plum’d fan may shade thy *chulked* face,  
And lawny strips<sup>1</sup> thy naked bosom grace.”

Greene, in his *Farewell to Folly*, written in 1617, says, in allusion to new effeminate habits :—“We strive to be counted womanish by keeping of beauty, by curling the hair, by wearing plumes of feathers in our hands, which in wars our ancesters wore on their heads,” etc.

In the *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, 1620, the author, referring to the young men of the past, wrote :—“*Then* our young courtiers strove to exceed one another in vertue and in bravery, they rode not with fannes to ward their faces from the wind.”

Feather fans, however, held their supremacy until the seventeenth century, when the introduction of “folding fans” caused a considerable change in the fashions of the day. In the reign of Charles I both kinds appear to have

<sup>1</sup> Shirt-frills.

been commonly used, and Hollar, in his interesting *Aula Veneris*, 1644, has left us several representations of them, some of which I now lay before you. From the reign of William III the feather fan is seen no more; but thenceforth to the close of the eighteenth century the folding fan reigned supreme, as may be evidenced by the numerous portraits during that period.

Following the example of the ancient writers, the dramatic authors and poets of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries oftentimes alluded to the fan. Thus, in Shakespeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor*, we have Falstaff's remarks to Pistol upon "Mistress Bridget having lost the handle of her fan." *The Floire*, of 1610, states: "She hath a fan with a short silver handle about the length of a barber's syringe;" and in *Love and Honour*, by Sir William Davenant, 1649: "All your plate vases is the silver handles of your old prisoners' fan," etc. An old author, *temp.* Charles I, wrote:

"But seeing they are still in hand  
 In house, in field, in church, in street;  
 In summer, winter, water, land;  
 In colde, in heate, in drie, in wete;  
 I judge they are for wives such tooles  
 As bables are in playes for fooles."

The fans of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were highly pictorial; that of Madame de Maintenon being a good specimen of the practice. Upon it was represented her own apartment. The King appeared to be employed at his desk; Madame de Maintenon spinning; the Duchess of Burgundy at play; and Mlle. d'Aubigny, the niece of Madame de Maintenon, at her collation.

Let the glories and beauties of the fan in past ages be contested as they may, or be accorded by turns to ancient or modern days, it was, beyond all question, left from the eighteenth century to first fully develop the "science" of the fan, and to that period, whatever credit or renown may attach to the discovery, it fairly belongs. Theretofore the fan was a mere accompaniment to the toilette, but in the eighteenth century it became an instrument of great power, which, when wielded with talent, played an important part in mundane affairs. So undeniably was this the case as to render the proper use of the fan a study "apart," one prin-

incipal feature in which was “the flutter of the fan,” to acquire which demanded (according to Addison) three months hard practice ; when, however, once attained, it brought its own reward, as it was supposed to confer the power of expressing any emotion which might agitate the bosom of the fair holder at the moment. Addison, in the *Spectator*, describes these flutters as the “angry flutter,” the “modest flutter,” the “timorous flutter,” the “confused flutter,” the “merry flutter,” and lastly, the “amorous flutter”; and he even went the length to declare that the *Spectator* could tell by merely seeing the fan of a disciplined lady, whether she were laughing, frowning, or blushing at the moment. Add to this the fact, that the fans in question were often not less than a yard wide, and some faint idea may be formed of the execution they were capable of effecting.

The aptitude of the natives of Spain, Portugal, and Italy for “fan flirting” is so well-known, and, if entered upon, is so voluminous in detail, as not only to forbid my doing so, but to render the attempt even undesirable. No matter what the event of the day, the fan of the eighteenth century duly recorded it. Literature, music, politics, and fashion were alike made subservient to its power, and to an extent which can now be hardly imagined. In like manner church or opera, senate or theatre, became the medium of its exhibition. Thus, when Dean Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels* appeared, all the principal events were depicted on both sides of the fan. The same result followed the production of the *Beggar’s Opera*, the favourite songs in which were painted on the fans, and political emblems were so rife that a lady’s opinion was as readily known by her fan as by her patches. A similar practice prevailed in France, and in the time of the revolution their artists were fond of recording the principal events of the period upon fans, among which may be mentioned “the Mountain Child of the Republican Constitution,” “the Triumph of National Religion over Atheism, Fanaticism, and Scepticism,” “the Fete of Agriculture,” etc. Occasionally (although very rarely) “fans” were adapted in their ornamentation to the useful. At the close of the eighteenth century a fan was advertised in the *World* especially adapted to the frequenters of the opera, and was thus described :—“These fans present at one view the number of boxes, including the additional ones : the names of sub-

scribers, etc., and have been carefully compared with the plan of the house, as kept at the office, etc.”

To those whose taste for fans and literature combined may induce them to read more on the subject, I refer them to Gay's poem, entitled “The Fan,” and to “Mira with a painted fan,” to be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for March, 1750, and to which old periodical we are indebted for the following extract from a quaint letter on the subject of “Fans at Church,” under date May, 1753 :—

“MR. URFAN.—I shall here subjoin a list of a dozen designs, elegantly executed, which at a late celebration of the Communion in a certain church of this metropolis, were actually displayed by way of screens to so many pretty faces, disposed in a semicircular arrangement about the Holy Table: 1, Darby and Joan, with their attributes; 2, Harlequin, Pierrot, and Columbine; 3, the Prodigal Son with his harlots, copied from the “Rake's Progress”; 4, a rural dance, with a band of music consisting of a fiddle, a bagpipe, and a Welsh harp; 5, the taking of Porto Bello; 6, the solemnities of a filiation; 7, Joseph and his mistress; 8, the humour of Change Alley; 9, Silenus with his proper symbols and supporters; 10, the first interview of Isaac and Rebecca; 11, the Judgment of Paris; 12, Vauxhall Gardens with the decorations and company.”

In the eighteenth century fan-making was an extensive and important business, and called into requisition the talents of the highest and best painters, many of whom commenced life as fan painters. In England at this period an Italian artist, named “Pozzi,” painted fans from designs supplied by West, Reynolds, and Capriani, and which, according to Miss Burney, were painted on leather, thereby meaning “chickens' skin,” which she described as being “more beautiful than could well be imagined.”

In like manner, France produced in the eighteenth century many artistic celebrities with whose names “fans” are intimately associated. Amongst them may be mentioned Watteau, Godefroy, Frangenard, Boucher, Lelu, and Wille fils. Occasionally the fan was made to perform the office of “prompter,” as occurred on the occasion of the market women of Paris offering a congratulatory address to Marie Antoinette on the birth of the Dauphin, when the spokeswoman had the address (written expressly for the occasion by M. de la Harpe) set down on the inside of her fan, and to which she repeatedly referred without the least embarrassment.

If the fans of the eighteenth century yielded in grace and

elegance to those of the sixteenth century, they certainly exceeded them in richness and magnificence; the materials used often being costly Flanders lace, and the handles splendidly ornamented and inlaid with jewels. As the climax, however, of costly magnificence, I will conclude with a description of the fan of the Duchess of York, who, shortly after her arrival in England, displayed a splendid fan, entirely of diamonds, with an ivory mount, the sticks of which were pierced and set with brilliants in a Mosaic pattern; but the outside ones were set with a single row of diamonds, whilst very large brilliants fastened the fan at the bottom."

Having thus attempted to give a rapid, but necessarily very imperfect sketch of the "fan, its antiquity and uses," from its earliest inception to the nineteenth century; and thereby seen the importance attached to it in every age in its double capacity as an article of luxury, and as an adjunct to personal comfort, we may, at least, arrive at the satisfactory conclusion that the object now sought to be attained at South Kensington can hardly fail to offer the utmost encouragement to those for whose especial benefit it is intended, and convince them that by combining art and elegance with taste and utility, they will ensure a hold upon public attention which in its results will prove at once a practical encouragement to talent, as well as a highly remunerative source of income to those whose intelligence and perseverance may fairly entitle them to success.

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## ON DATED SEALS.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

IN calling attention to a few examples of early dated seals, and seals with early dates, I would beg to enforce the importance of duly distinguishing between these two classes; for by confounding the one with the other, sad confusion might, and has indeed arisen. A period is indicated on the ancient seal of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, +HOC SIGILLVM FACTVM EST ANNO PRIMO RICARDI REGIS ANGLORVM; but this is simply an *anno regni*, not an *anno Domini* date; and it is more especially to the latter I would now refer.

Early dated seals are of extreme rarity, and as yet I have met with none older than the fourteenth century; and, in

fact, only one of that era.<sup>1</sup> The seal to which I allude (and of which a delineation is given in pl. 12, figs. 1, 2), is the magnificent one of Cottingham Priory, East Riding of York, founded A.D. 1322, by Thomas Wake, Lord of Lyddel, a descendant of Oslac, General of King Ethelwolf, and of the still more celebrated Saxon chieftain Hereward, the heroic opponent of William of Normandy. This most curious example measures two inches and three-quarters in diameter. On the obverse is a view of the entrance of the priory, with two winged gates thrown open, and lateral niches for statues. On each side of the spire, which crowns the roof of the building, is a square shield charged with the founder's arms, viz., *or* two bars *gules*, in chief three *tor-teaux*. These are repeated in a heater-shaped shield on the sinister side of the seal, whilst on the dexter is a similar shield charged with five bars, and beneath the portal is another with a cross *florey*. In each of the eight cusps of the border surrounding the field is a *fleur-de-lys* or other device. The reverse of the seal is more elaborate than the obverse. Within a cusped border is what appears to be a *parclose* composed of two arcades one above the other, and a long low basement. In the centre of the upper arcade is the rood, with figures of St. John and the Blessed Virgin, and in the lateral arches angels with censers. In the centre of the second arcade kneels an ecclesiastic with a pastoral staff of simple form, and in the dexter arch stands St. Peter with his key, and in the sinister St. Paul with his sword. In the base kneel five ecclesiastics to the left. On a bracket at the dexter side of the *parclose* is Lord Wake on one knee, his hands clasped in prayer, and gazing upward at the rood. On a like bracket on the opposite side kneels his lady, who seems to wear a *peplus*, or veil, and tight-sleeve kirtle belted about the waist. Lord Wake is equipped from head to heel in ringed hauberk, the coif fitting to the form of the head, and the shoulders being provided with *ailettes* blazoned with his armorial bearings. A long *cyclas* or surcoat is worn over the armour, the little figure presenting an interesting delineation of the knightly costume of the reign of Edward of Carnarvon. The legend on the verge of the seal is in French, commencing on the obverse, continued on the reverse, and setting forth that—"This is the seal of the Abbey

<sup>1</sup> For a forged matrix of jet, dated 1372, see *Journal*, xvi, 359.



Obverse



Reverse



Fig 1



Fig 3

Fig 4



Fig 5

Fig 2

Fig 6





and the Convent of Cottingham, which ye Thomas Wake, Lord of Lyddle, have founded.—In the year of the Incarnation 1322, in honour of the True Cross, and of Our Lady and St. Peter and St. Paul.”

Obverse CEO EST LE SEIL L ABBEE A LE COVENT DE COTINGHAM QVE VOVS THOMAS WAKE SINGNOVR DE LIDEL AVOMES FOVNDE. Reverse EN L AN DE L INCARNACION MILL CCCXX SECOVNDE AL HONOVR DE LA VERAT CROY E DE NRE DAME E SEYNT PERE ED SEYNT POVL.

The style of workmanship of this seal, the general character of its design, and, above all, the costume of the kneeling knight, are concurrent evidence that it was wrought in the early part of the fourteenth century, and I see no valid reason against the date 1322 being received as that of the fabric of the matrix as well as of the foundation of the priory.

I cannot at present refer to a second dated seal of the fourteenth century, but of the fifteenth century we have a splendid example in the noble signet of the ancient borough of Shrewsbury (see pl. 13, fig. 1). It measures three inches diameter, the whole field being occupied by a view of the town in bold relief. In the centre stands the abbey with its obelisk-like spire terminating in a cross which extends to the outer ring of the verge, and in the foreground is a portion of the embattled walls with three gates, each provided with a portecullis, and opening on bridges, beneath the arches of which roll the waters of the Severn. Above the middle gate is affixed a shield charged with three lions passant; on the wall of the dexter side is a second bearing a cross with a sprig in each quarter; and a third on the sinister side displays the arms of the town—*azure*, three leopards' heads, *or*. On the verge is the legend—SIGILLV COMVNE LIBATATIS VILLE SALOPESBVRIE FACTV ANO GRE M.CCCCXXV. The *Salopesburie* is an interesting transitional form from the rough Saxon *Scrobbes Byrig* and *Sciropesberie* to the soft sounding Shrewsbury of the present day. And the date on this seal will admit of no doubt nor quibble, for the legend distinctly notes that the year of grace 1425 was the period of its manufacture.

In the outset of these remarks attention was drawn to the importance of clearly distinguishing early dated seals from seals with early dates, and on the latter I would now offer

a few words. On the seal of Cottingham Priory we find the date composed partly of words and partly of *Roman* numerals ; in that on the Shrewsbury seal of *Roman* numerals only ; but the three next examples are dated in the so-called *Arabic* figures. The first to notice is an impression of the seal of the Millers and Bakers of Stiftsneuhausein, in Bohemia, the matrix of which is of brass, about one inch and an eighth diameter (see pl. 13, fig. 2). On the field are three circlets surmounted by a cornet and supported by lions. In the first circlet is a cog-wheel and mill-iron ; in the second a kind of twisted cake called *brezel*, buns, and bread ; in the third, or lower compartment, are three reaping-hooks (?) and this one divides the date 1418. The legend on the verge reads—\*DER. MILL. ER. V. BECKER. STIFTSNEVHAVSEN.Z.S. Though this seal bears the date 1418, the matrix is palpably the work of the seventeenth century ; and, therefore, offers a good instance of how a late production may have an early date, the period, in fact, of the establishment of the Guild. But this seal is far less likely to mislead than those which follow, which are, in truth nothing but wicked forgeries with quasi-Gothic designs, and dates not in the ordinary printing numerals like those on the German specimen just described, but in the quaint character of the fifteenth century. The first belongs to the family of Italian Forgeries, of which an account is given in this *Journal* (xiv, 348), and professes to be the seal of the city of Kremtce, made in the year 1453. The inscription SIGILLVM CIVITATIS KREMTCE, 1453, surrounds a conjoined quatrefoil and square, within which is a large shield supported above, beneath and on either side by an angel, and charged with two lesser shields, the dexter bearing three mascles on a fess, the sinister a griffin rampant. It must be confessed that this pseudo-antique is well got up, and it is, therefore, more needful to expose it (see pl. 13, fig. 3). The second example purports to be the signum of Henry VII for the Duchy of Lancaster, having for device a horse's head, crowned, bitted, and bridled, with an ostrich feather before the neck : the whole being on a frosted and stellary field. The legend reads HENRICVS DEI GRA REX ANGLIE ET FRACIE DVX LAN. 1490 (see pl. 13, fig. 4).

It is a question worthy of consideration if there be any genuine seals of the fifteenth century bearing dates in

*Arabic* numerals; that such dates occur in the sixteenth century is well-known, but even then it was not until towards the middle of the century that they became common. The beautiful circular seal of the Dean and Chapter of Durham displays the use of Arabic figures in the year 1540-1. On the obverse is the Saviour seated on a rainbow and resting his feet upon an orb, whilst a little nimbed figure kneels in prayer on either side—SIGIL CAPITVLI. DVNELM. CATHED. ECCLESIE. CRISTI. ET. BTE. M. VIRGIS. Reverse, the Virgin standing on a crescent moon, attended by angels and demi-figures of God the Father and God the Son, placing a crown upon her head, above which is the Holy Spirit, MARIA. SEMPER. VIRGO. MATER. CHRISTI. ANNO. REGIS. HENRICI. 8, 32.

The remarkable hexagonal signet of Lady Jane Grey as Queen, bears the date 1553, divided by two shields under one crown with the words IOANNA REG. beneath them; but as this rude affair is described in the *Archæologia* (xiii, 69), I refrain from dwelling on it.

Among the illustrations to Mr. Pettigrew's account of the seals of Endowed Grammar Schools (see *Journal* xii, xiv) there are twelve bearing dates in the sixteenth century, the earliest being that of Louth, in Lincolnshire, 1552; the latest of Halifax, 1597. In plate 13, fig. 5, is a representation of the oval seal of the parish of St. Mary-le-Bow, with a view of the square tower of the old church, with a lantern at each corner, and one in the centre elevated upon arches or *bows*, and which erection was finished in 1512, and destroyed in the great fire of 1666. On the verge we read—SIGILLVM ECCLLE BEATE. MARIE. DE. ARCVBVS. LONDINI. 1580. For another instance of a dated seal of this century reference may be made to that of Sir Walter Raleigh as Governor of Virginia. It is of silver, and bears his arms supported by foxes and crested by a roebuck, which divides the date 1584. Motto—"AMORE ET VIRTUTE." Legend PROPRIA. INSIGNIA. WALTERI. RALEGH. MILITIS. DOMINI. ET GVBERNATORIS. VIRGINIÆ, etc.

As an example of a foreign signet, dated early in the seventeenth century, we may select the neat little capitular seal of Volkenmark in Carinthia, with a representation of a small antique-looking church with the numerals 1604 beneath it, and encircled by the words SECRETVM CAPITVLE VOLCKHENMARCKETENSIS (see pl. 13, fig. 6).

The practice of placing dates on seals seems to have greatly declined in the seventeenth century, but in turning to the communication on Grammar School seals before mentioned, we find four with dates, viz., Atherstone, 1608 ; Hemsworth, 1637 ; Crediton, 1674 ; and Lichfield, 1688. Two of the Grammar School seals bear dates in the eighteenth century, namely, Lucton, Herefordshire, 1708 ; and Shrewsbury, 1798. And of the nineteenth century there is one seal—that of Wigan, in Lancashire, 1812.

The examples here cited, though few in number, are well marked types, and all-sufficient as a nucleus around which to gather more ample details regarding dated seals, both in ancient and modern times.

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## ON THE GREAT SEAL OF JAMES I.

BY W. DE G. BIRCH, ESQ.

UNTIL within a very recent period, it has been thought that James I, king of England, made use of but one great seal, namely, that of the type engraved by Sandford in his *Genealogical History*, by the French *Tresor de Numismatique*, by Speed, and, perhaps, by other historical writers ; but there exist in the British Museum certain seals which undoubtedly indicate the fact of a different seal to that of the ordinary type having been used during the first few years of the king's reign. The matrix of this seal was either destroyed or considerably altered and made to correspond with the type of the second seal of which so many examples yet remain. The most remarkable point of difference is in the obverse, wherein (in the early seal) the canopy over the king is represented with a plain front running from side to side, ornamented with a fringe, terminating at each corner with a tassel, and carrying a similar tassel in the centre. Above the canopy in the middle portion is the cherubic head of a child, with wings inverted, upon a bell-shaped back piece, from which at each end there issues a flory scroll, terminating with the head of a boar.

The canopy in the most common and well-known seals of this monarch has a circular projection or *tester* in front, and the cherub's place is supplied by a mass of scroll work with

1ST SEAL OF JAMES 1ST 1606,



DIAMETER OF SEALS SIX INCHES



2ND SEAL 1606 /



fantastic foliage. In all other respects a close comparison of the two seals fails to indicate any difference of identity; the inference that must be drawn is, therefore, that this the first seal was made use of for a very short period, as evinced by the comparative rarity of impression of it in this state, and was altered for some reason or other, perhaps the low relief of the canopy which does not project sufficiently over the king was considered faulty, and, therefore, altered into the state which we have before us in the second seal.

A document printed in Rymer, bearing date 1 Jac. I, gives an interesting account of the circumstances attending the use of Queen Elizabeth's great seal for such time as was necessary to prepare a new seal for the new monarch, and details the destruction of the Queen's seal "*Die Martis, xix Jul. a. i.*" [1603] in the royal presence by "*Carolus Anthony, Sculptor Sigillorum Regis,*" upon the delivery of the new great seal.<sup>1</sup>

We find in the British Museum four original impressions of the seal in its first state:—

I. A detached seal in uncoloured wax, finely preserved, a cast of the obverse of which is now before the meeting, by the kindness of Mr. Ready. (Pl. 14.)

II. A fine impression in uncoloured wax appended to a charter bearing date: 2 April A. 2, that is, A.D. 1604.

<sup>1</sup> *Fœdera*, Hagæ, 1742, tom. vii, p. 65. "A.D. 1603, claus. i, 1 Jac. I, p. 12, dors. Memorandum quod, cum Dominus noster Jacobus Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ Rex, per Billam manu suâ regia signatam, gerentem datam apud Hallyrood House quinto die Aprilis anno regni sui ... primo, ..., appunctuaverat magnum sigillum dominiæ Elizabethæ nuper Reginæ Angliæ, adtunc in custodia dilecti et fidelis consilarii sui Thomæ Egerton militis, esse Magnum Sigillum suum pro hoc regno suo Angliæ, quousque aliter...ordinatum fuerit... &c. Posteaque die Martis decimo nono die Julii anno prædicto, prædictus Thomas Egerton, Custos ejusdem Magni Sigilli, ad præfatum Dominum Regem, apud Honorem suum de Hampton Court in interiore camera sua ibidem existentem, circiter horam decimam ante meridiem ejusdem die, accessit, secum deferens dictum Magnum Sigillum, imagine dictæ Dominiæ Elizabethæ...inseulptum, ...ac idem Thomas...sigillum prædictum eidem Domino Regi obtulit et deliberavit, ipseque Dominus Rex sigillum illud æquo animo a præfato Thomæ...recipiens, illud dirumpi frangi et quassari mandavit, et cum quodam malleo primum ipsemet eidem intulit ictum, et adtunc in eadem camera...Carolus Anthony, sculptor sigillorum Regis dictum sigillum totaliter dirupit, fregit et quassavit; eoque peracto, dictus Thomas...quoddam aliud sigillum imagine armis et titulis honoris dicti Domini Regis inseulptum, ac pro Magno Sigillo præfati Domini Regis per speciale mandatum suum noviter ordinatum et fabricatum...in medium protulit et eidem Domino Regi deliberavit: Quod quidem novum sigillum idem Dominus Rex, intuens et deliberanter considerans, approbavit, ac dicto Thomæ Egerton militi pro Magno Sigillo suo Angliæ utendum et exercendum...commisit tradidit et deliberavit, ipsunque Thomam Egerton Custodem ejusdem novi sigilli fecit et constituit," etc.

III. An imperfect impression in uncoloured wax, appended to a charter bearing date : 5 May, A°. 2, that is, A.D. 1604.

IV. A broken and imperfect impression in dark green wax, appended by a plaited cord of red and white silk to a charter much injured by fire, bearing date : 23 July, A°. 2, that is, A.D. 1604.

The earliest charter of the king in the British Museum on which an example of the second or amended seal is to be found appears to be dated 22 June A°. 3, that is, A.D. 1605.

There is a fine but imperfect impression in dark green wax, appended by gold and silver thread to a richly illuminated charter, bearing date 7 Feb., A°. 1, that is, A.D. 1604 ; but, although the date shows it to be an example of the first seal, unfortunately the canopy by which it is alone to be identified is entirely broken away.

We find, therefore, that James I used Elizabeth's great seal from his accession 24 March, 1603, to 19 July, 1603 ; that the first state of the seal existed from 19 July, 1603, to at least 23 July, 1604 ; and that the second state was certainly in use on 22 June, 1605. At what time between the two last mentioned dates, 23 July, 1604, and 22 June, 1605, the seal was altered, cannot, with the present means at our disposal, be elucidated.

The following documents (the originals of which are in the British Museum), hitherto not printed, indicate the date of the matrix :—

1.—*Letter of King James to Charles Anthony.*—Trustie and welbeloved wee greet you well. Wheras our Great Seale of England and divers other Seales as well of our Severall Courtes of Justice, as for other necessarie services are forthwith to be new made, These are therefore to will and require you, by your selfe, and by the helpe and assistance of other workmen, to make, grave, sincke, finishe, and bringe to perfection redy to be used with all convenient speede, the said Great Seale workmanly made accordinge to these paternes herewith sent unto you. And also the Seales of other our Courtes and Offices conteyned in a scedule herein enclosed, according to the proporcion, and bignes heretofore used, and with the differences accustomed (savage the alteration of our stile, and the quarteringe of our Armes which are to be accordinge to this patterne herewith sent unto you). And our pleasure likewise is that so soone as the said Great Seale shall be finished, you deliver it to our keeper of our Great Seale of England for the tyme beinge, to be by him brought unto us to knowe our further pleasure therein. And for our other seales, as aforesaid, our pleasure is that as soone as they shall be made, you shall deliver them to our Treasurer of England, to be by him delivered to the severall Officers that shall use the same.

And these our Letters shalbe unto you, and to such as you shall employe about theis our Services, sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalfe. Geven under our Signet at Charterhouse, the eight day of May, 1603, in the first yere of our reigne of England.

To our trustic and welbeloved servant Charles Anthony, graver of our mynt and seales.

2.—James by the grace of God, kinge of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith.—To the Treasurer and Chamberlaines of our Exchequer greetinge. Whereas we have lately geven order to our servant Charles Anthony graver of our seales, for the makinge and gravinge of our Great Seale of England, and other seales of sondrie our Courtes of Justice and other Offices, for the gold, silver, workmanship and other charges wherof it is necessarie that a convenient some of mony be disbursed for this our service : Wee therefore will and authorize you to allow, and pay, or cause to be allowed and paid unto the said Charles Anthony either out of the Revenues of our mynt, or out of our treasure in the Receipt of our Exchequer, such soimes of mony as shall be requisite aswell for the masse of gold silver and other charges incident for the said seales, as for the paines and travaill of our said Graver and for all other necessarie charges for the makinge of the said severall seales, as shall appeare unto you by any former example to have ben allowed in like cases. And therof to deliver unto him from tyme to tyme by way of Imprest such porcion of mony as you shall thincke meete and convenient. And these our Letters shall be unto you a sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalfe. Given under our Privie Seale at Charterhouse the ninth day of May, 1603, in the first yere of our Raigne in England France and Ireland, and the six and thirtieth in Scotland.

Plate 14 represents the obverse of the matrix in its later and more commonly known shape.

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## BRITISH AUXILIARY TROOPS IN THE ROMAN SERVICE.

BY A. SADLER, ESQ.

It is a curious phenomenon that, though Great Britain, by its happy geographical position, ought to be able to remain unconcerned in continental wars, yet from the first period of its history we find this country used as a nursery from which men were drawn to fight the battles of other nations. As early as the wars of Julius Cæsar in Gaul, we hear of vast numbers of British archers enlisted in the ranks of the Gallic confederacy headed by Vereingetorix. Nor were the Romans slow in taking advantage of the warlike character of the inhabitants of this island. Already, in Nero's time,



we find British troops in the Roman service. When that emperor, in a moment of military ardour, projected a wild expedition against the Parthians, in the straits of the Caspian Sea, he raised numerous troops in Britain and Germany. The expedition, however, did not take place. The Parthians withdrew within their own frontiers, and the troops on the march were recalled in order to quell the revolt of Vindex in Gaul. In A.D. 68, when Galba had been proclaimed emperor, he hastened to Rome, taking with him the first and the tenth legions, to which cohorts of British auxiliaries were attached. Both the legions and their auxiliaries allowed themselves to be won over by Galba's antagonist, Otho; and one of the officers of the British cohorts, a certain Sulpicius Florus, whom Galba had made a Roman citizen, was particularly active in the murder of Licinianus Piso, Galba's adopted successor. (Tacit., *Hist.*, lib. i, 43.) Soon afterwards, when Vitellius opposed Otho, he made hasty levies in Gaul, to which he added eight thousand men from Britain. These troops, with the rest of the army, crossed the Alps in the midst of winter, in order to secure possession of Italy; and after some reverses completely defeated the adherents of Otho in a hard fought battle near Bibriacum, not far from Mantua. In fact, we have evident proof that, from the middle of the first century till the fall of the Roman empire, vast numbers of British auxiliaries continued to serve in the imperial army.

The Romans, during the time of the Republic, made it a practice to compose their legions exclusively of Roman citizens. In conjunction with these heavy battalions they used auxiliary light troops, both infantry and cavalry, entirely furnished by the Italian *socii*; but when, by the *Lex Plautia Papiria* (B. C. 89), these *socii* had obtained the *jus Romanum*, they were formed into legions, and auxiliary troops from the subjected provinces took their place. By these means large bodies of warlike barbarians were compelled to consume their dangerous valour in remote climates for the benefit of the Roman empire; and at the same time subjected provinces were drained of a considerable proportion of their fighting element. Among these auxiliaries, the bravest and most faithful bands were placed under the command of prefects and centurions, and carefully trained in the art of Roman warfare; but the greater part retained

those arms to which the nature of their country, or their early habits of life, more particularly adapted them. Thus each legion, to whom a certain number of auxiliaries was allotted, was reinforced by every species of lighter troops and of weapons, and was thereby enabled to encounter almost every barbarous nation with the advantage of its respective arms and mode of warfare. The position of these troops in the line of battle varied: generally they were placed on the flanks, but occasionally also in front of the standard, in the centre, or in the rear, as might be most convenient. Frequently also they were mixed among the cavalry. Vegetius, however, makes the following objections to the use of these corps:—"The auxiliaries," he says, "are led to battle from different parts; they have been attached to different legions, neither are they of the same nations, nor have they any sympathies in common. Each corps has its own language, discipline, and mode of fighting. . . . Still," he observes, "these foreign troops are of great use, once that they have well learned the military exercise. They are always in battle added to the legions as light infantry; and, though they have never been the principal strength of our army, still they are a useful addition to it" (*Veget.*, lib. ii, c. 1). The system, however, was attended with obvious dangers, for it gradually instructed the barbarians in the art of war and policy, and in the end they employed against the tottering Roman empire that same military knowledge which they had acquired in its service.

How the levies of these foreign troops were managed, we have no evidence to show. Certainly not with the same regularity as in Rome and Italy; and, from a somewhat analogous state of things, we may, perhaps, imagine that it was much on the same plan as is still practised in the more remote provinces of Turkey and Egypt. A troop of soldiers swoops down upon a village, and by main force carries off all the "eligible young men" they can lay hold of. They have to come down upon them unawares, or all the youths would have fled into the wastes and wilds. But, approaching by stealth, they surprise them tilling the field, tending the flocks, and pursuing the various occupations of agricultural life. Once in the hands of the soldiers, the unwilling herd is yoked together and marched off to some far distant dépôt. In a similar manner, no doubt, the healthy vigorous

youth of Britannia were enrolled under the Roman banners in order to be transported to the pestilent swamps of the Danube, or the burning sands of Lybia; to the barren rugged mountains of Tyrol, or the trackless steppes of Bessarabia. In return, the inhabitants of the sunny south, the nimble Greek, the dusky Syrian, the wild Thracian mountaineer, and the native of highly-cultured Asia Minor, were sent to languish under the inclement sky of distant Britannia. For it was the constant practice of the Romans to station the auxiliary troops in the provinces most remote from their native land, in order to prevent desertion or revolt. It was to these cruel continually recurring levies that Claudius Civilis, the rebellious chief of the Batavians, alluded in the address to his countrymen, which Tacitus puts in his mouth, when he speaks of "a levy just at hand, by which children will be separated for ever from their parents, brothers from brothers." A similar sentiment the Roman historian attributes to the British king Galgacus, who, in order to inflame the spirit of his warriors before the battle of the Grampians, recalled to their mind the various grievances to which they had been subjected by the Romans:—"Our children and relatives," he said, "are by the laws of nature the dearest of all things to us. These are torn away by levies to serve in foreign lands." Nor were these the only evils. Occasionally, also, the Roman officers, who had the management of these levies, appear to have done like Falstaff, and, to use that worthy's own words, to "have misused the king's press most damnably." For we have the authority of Tacitus, that when the youth of Batavia were called upon to enlist, by order of Vitellius, "this requisition, onerous in itself, was rendered still more so by the avarice and profligacy of the Roman officers, who pressed the aged and infirm in the service, in order to gain the price of their discharge."

A military state of things generally leaves but few monuments of its existence. We have no traces of a Roman War Office or Horse Guards, from the red-tape archives of which a kind of history of the Roman army might be compiled. The only sources, then, to which we can look for information on the subject of the British auxiliaries and their movements are a few vague and scanty allusions in historical works; the rest of our knowledge we must gather from sepulchral

and votive tablets, altar inscriptions, and those bronze documents known as rescripts, *tabulæ honestæ missionis*, or military passports.

In 1838 one of those last-named imperial instruments was found under the ruins of a convent near Vienna. It had been delivered by Emperor Titus, A.D. 80, to various auxiliary troops of horse and foot. By this document the usual favours were bestowed upon these veterans, viz., after twenty-five years' service they were presented with the rights of Roman citizens for themselves, their wives and children, present or to come, provided always they lived within the bounds of monogamy. Among the troops enumerated occurs the Cohors I Britannica, and it is, therefore, evident, from the date A.D. 80, that these Britons must have been under the Roman standard as early as A.D. 55. At the time that document was delivered they were stationed in Pannonia, a country which comprised parts of Hungary, Lower Austria, Styria, all Croatia, Bosnia, Servia, and Sclavonia. There they were quartered among a motley collection of foreign troops: Spaniards, Styrians, Carinthians, Hungarians, Tyrolers, Galliciers, Portuguese, people from the banks of the Jordan, and a dozen other nationalities whom our ancient Britons must have found but indifferent company.

As early as the reign of Trajan we find a distinction made between cohorts or ala Britannica and Brittonum. The expression Cohors Britannica would, in accordance with Roman parlance, imply a cohort stationed in Britain, not a cohort of Britons. But in the instance of these British troops the usual phraseology has been violated, and the auxiliary troops of this nation are constantly mentioned as cohorts or ala Britannica. There can be no doubt that two distinct nations are understood by the term Britannica and Brittonum. The first are men raised in Britannia propria, *i.e.* on this side of the Roman wall; the second in Britannia Prima or Inferior, *i.e.* the northern provinces of England, parts of the lowlands of Scotland, also men from Britannia Secunda or Superior, *i.e.* Wales. Upon this subject, however, there is difference of opinion, some holding that the term Brittones is not used to designate natives of Great Britain, but of Armorica (Bretagne). To this I object that it was not till after the emigrations of Britons into that district in the fourth century, that the country began to be

called Bretagne and the people Bretons. Moreover, Procopius, the most celebrated writer of the sixth century, expressly says that Britannia "is possessed by three very numerous nations, Angli, Frisiones, and those surnamed from the island Brittones" (*Proc. Bell. Vann.*, lib. i, c. 2); and a still more conclusive proof occurs in the writings of Ausonius, who, in his epigrams *De quodam Silvio Bono qui erat Brito*, has the following lines, in which the terms Britannus and Brito are evidently used convertibly:

"Silvius hic bonus est.—Quis Silvius? Iste Britannus  
Aut Brito hic non est Silvius. Aut malus est." (*Ep. cx.*)

"Silvius iste bonus fertur; ferturque Britannus.  
Quis credat civem degenerasse bonum." (*Ep. cxi.*)

A cohors I Britannica Milliaris is again mentioned in the *tabulæ honestæ missionis*, given by Domitian, September 5, A.D. 85. This cohort I take to be the same as the one alluded to above, and was at that period still stationed in Pannonia. Vegetius informs us that all the first cohortes were *milliaria*, that is numbered more than a thousand men, one thousand five hundred foot and one hundred and thirty-two horsemen, clad in armour, being the full complement in his time. In the first and second centuries, however, they were less numerous. In the same *tabulæ* we find mentioned, conjointly with this cohors Britannica, a cohors Brittonum Milliaris, which is proof conclusive that two distinct nationalities are understood by these two terms. Another rescript, given a quarter of a century later by Trajan, February 17th, A.D. 110, enumerates Cohors I Britannica Milliaris Civium Romanorum, stationed at that time in Dacia (that is Wallachia, Transylvania, Moldavia, Bessarabia, and the southern parts of Galicia). These troops, no doubt, had assisted in the conquest of Dacia, in memory of which achievement that column was erected at Rome on the Forum Trajani, which, having been preserved from ruin, is still admired as one of the finest remnants of ancient art. As indicated by the title Civium Romanorum, these veterans must have continued in the imperial army after having received the usual right of Roman citizens, at the expiration of the term for which they had originally been enlisted. An interesting memorial of this corps was discovered near Weissenburg, in Transylvania, where a sepulchral tablet was

found, which had been erected some time in the reign of M. Aurelius and L. Verus. It contains an inscription to the memory of C. Julius, a Corinthian by birth, and prefect of the Cohors I Britannica. This gallant commander had been presented by the emperor with a mural crown, a silver banner (*vexillum argenteum*), and a pointless spear (*hasta pura*). The mural crown was generally given to those who first entered the breach of a besieged town. The *vexillum argenteum* was a small purple banner on a silver staff, a reward for bravery in the field, as well as the pointless spear, which was a kind of walking staff worn by Roman officers of rank, the persuasive faculties of which were occasionally felt by the soldiers. Perhaps the broken lance (*lancia spezzata*, Lancepesada) of our Elizabethan infantry, and the demi-pike of a later period, derived their origin from the Roman pointless spear. Another tombstone relating to an officer of this cohort was found at Pantalia, in Servia. It records the death of a standard bearer of the mounted troop. That he bore the banner of the cavalry is evident from the fact that he is styled *eques*. It is further stated that he belonged to the *turma Montana*, and it is well-known that the word *turma* at that period only applied to cavalry.

In the rescript granted by Emperor Trajan, A.D. 110, to soldiers of the above cohort, mention is also made of *PEDITES SINGULARES BRITANNICI*, who had served for twenty-five years or more in Dacia. *Singulares* were picked men, taken from the *alæ* and *cohortes*, regardless of nationality. They were formed into one body in the manner of the *gardes* and *corps d'élite* of the continental armies, and appear to have enjoyed the rights of Roman citizens. *Pedites singulares Britannici* are again mentioned in a *honesta missio* of Antoninus Pius, granted to troops in Dacia, A.D. 157, found at Zsuppa, in Hungary. I must here observe that *alæ singulares* are not uncommon, but of *pedites singulares* I find only three instances, two of which are the above *Britannici*. In the third instance no nationality is mentioned, and since, as I remarked before, *singulares* were picked from different corps, regardless of nationality, I give my opinion upon this subject with diffidence.

A mutilated slab in honour of Q. Gargilius, prefect of a cohort Britannica, was found at Tyr, the inscription of which

is given in Count Maffei's work, but the stone is so defaced that the number of the cohort is illegible. This monument had been erected in honour of the said prefect, to commemorate his successful expedition against Pharaxes and his rebels, A.D. 176, who had been defeated and killed in Mauritania, near the present Burgh Hamza (*Auzea*) and Koleah (*Rusucurum*) not far from Algiers.

A British ala or squadron of horse, together with three British cohorts of foot, were sent by Vitellius from the banks of the Rhine to reinforce the army of Fabius Valens (*Tacit. Hist.* iii, 41), and by him marched into Italy, where they soon took sides with Vespasian, who had commanded as legatus in Britain. This is probably the Ala I Britannica, which was subsequently for a long time stationed in Pannonia; and, though traces of it are found both in Upper and in Lower Pannonia, yet there is reason to suppose that all the inscriptions refer to the same squadron. Ala was the name originally given to the cavalry on the flanks of the legion, which covered it like the *wings* of a bird. But in the time of the emperors it was a denomination indiscriminately used for all bodies of cavalry not attached to any legion, and those were nearly always composed of foreigners. Such a corps was divided into ten *turme* of thirty men each, but when the ala consisted of foreign auxiliaries they were double that number. The surnames of this British ala vary: at different times we find it called Ala I Britannica Milliaria; Ala I Flavia Britannica Milliaria; and Ala I Flavia Britannica Milliaria Civium Romanorum, etc. The name Flavia in this instance does not refer to Britannia Flavia Cæsariensis, but was a distinction the ala had obtained from emperor T. Flavius Vespasian. That this squadron took part in some of the dangerous and often disastrous campaigns against the Parthians, is evident from the *tabulæ missionis* delivered by Trajan, A.D. 114. On these *tabulæ*, which were found in 1853 at Petronell, a village on the Danube, not far from Vienna, the Ala I Flavia Augusta Britannica Civium Romanorum is mentioned; and it is added that when the document was delivered the squadron was taking part in the expedition (*missa in expeditionem*) against the Parthians. From the fact of their being employed against these proverbially dangerous enemies, we may safely infer that our

English ala ranked amongst the most efficient cavalry corps on the Roman establishment.

In Pannonia the ala was first stationed at Vienna, later, in the time of the Antonines, in Hungary, being then attached to Legio I Adjutrix, which was quartered at Ofen (*Acincum*). There was formerly a stone in the museum of Vienna, now unfortunately lost, on which the ala was mentioned with all its honorary distinctions. It was the sepulchral tablet of a trooper in this squadron, named T. Flavius Verecundus, who is described in the inscription as *Eques Alæ I Flaviæ Augustæ Britannicæ Milliariæ Civium Romanorum Jur. Italici*. These two last words, if such be the correct reading, would prove that the civil rights granted to soldiers after twenty-five years' service were only the *Jus Italicum*, not the full rights of the *Jus Quiritum*. Others, however, have proposed the reading *Tur. Italici*, which would signify that the defunct rode in the troop or *turma* of the Decurio Italicus.

At Petronell, a village on the Danube, near the ancient Roman municipium of Carnunt, a tombstone was found, inscribed to the memory of T. Flavius Crenscēs (*sic*). The inscription states him to have been a native of Durocorrem, (which, I suppose, is the Pannonian stonecutter's cacography for Durovernum, Canterbury), and, furthermore, he is called an *eques ALE TAMVE.X* (or *tamue decimæ*) *Brit.* As this word *Tamue* is rather unmanageable, I would propose the reading *Alæ Tam. VEX. Brit.*, which, at least, has some meaning. Of *Tamue* I can make nothing, but an ala *Tampiana Pannoniorum* occurs in the imperial rescript found at Bath, delivered to troops in Britain; and, consequently, if this reading be admitted, the deceased should either have been the standard-bearer (*vexillarius*) of the ala and a Briton by birth,<sup>1</sup> or more probably a trooper in a British *vexillum* or *vexillatio*, attached to this Pannonian ala. Neither of these explanations, however, is entirely satisfactory.

A *vexillatio* or *vexillum Britannicum* was quartered in the second century on the banks of the Rhine, being attached

<sup>1</sup> That men from different countries were sometimes embodied in troops which bore the name of another nation, probably to make up the complement, appears from the *honesta missio* of Trajan, A.D. 114, where a Bohemian (*Boius*) is mentioned as serving in an *ala* of Belgians (*Tangri Vangiones*).

to Legio xxx Ulpia Victrix. It is, perhaps, to this vexillum, which at different times was stationed in different parts of Germany, that the Vicus Britannicus (now Bretzenheim, near Mayence) owed its origin. We find also traces of its sojourn in the neighbourhood of Nimwegen (*Noviomagum*) in the Low Countries, where numerous tiles have been discovered bearing the stamp VEX. BRIT. Under the empire the name vexillum was given to distinct bodies of heavy cavalry, composed of men picked from different cohorts or *alæ*, who were released from the military oath and regular service, but kept embodied under a separate flag (*vexillum*), whence their name. They were employed upon certain expeditions, as appears from various places in Tacitus' works (*Hist.* i, 6, 61 ; ii, 66 ; iv, 35, etc.), and a certain number of them was attached to each legion. A *vexillatio* was smaller than an *ala*, and numbered about five hundred sabres ; it was generally commanded by the centurion of a legion. To serve in such a corps was an honour even for veterans, and men who had twenty years' service in it obtained the same rewards as Romans who had served twenty years in the legions. We have evidence, therefore, both in this vexillum and in the *pedites singulares*, that our stout-hearted ancient Britons were selected for the most trusty services in the Roman army, a honour of no small moment in an empire which had the pick of the fighting men of the whole known world.

Since it was a rule of Roman tactics that both flanks of the legion should be covered by an *ala* of cavalry, it is probable that there must have been an *Ala ii Britannica*, which seems still more likely from the ordinal *prima* which invariably accompanies our *ala*. Curiously enough, not a vestige is to be found of this *ala*. It is just possible that it was entirely cut up in one of those disastrous expeditions under M. Aurelius against the Marcomanni, Hermonduri, Quadi, Sarmates, and other wild tribes on the Roman border, when many legions were utterly annihilated. This might, perhaps, be inferred from the fact that subsequently to that period the *Ala i* is no longer mentioned with her ordinal, but simply as *Ala Britannica*. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that just about that time the legions and other troops were no longer distinguished by their numbers, but merely by their cognomena, as expressly stated by Dion Cassius.

Among the officers who at times commanded the Ala I none probably ever acquired so great a popularity as T. Varius Clemens, in whose honour several inscriptions have been discovered in various parts of Europe, in Pannonia, Rhaetia, Belgica, and even in Mauritania, in Northern Africa. From a tablet erected to his memory in the town of Treves we gather that he was a native of Styria, and held various of the highest offices, both military and civil, in all of which he appears to have been eminently popular. He commanded our ala in his native Pannonia about the latter part of the second century. As you will have observed from the several epitaphs I have had occasion to mention, and as will appear still further in the sequel, the British auxiliary troops were officered by Romans, and by foreigners from other countries. I am inclined to think that this was the rule; for among the number of inscriptions relating to our auxiliary corps, I have not met with a single instance of a native commander; Italians, Spaniards, Greeks, Pannonians, and even Arabs, occur among them, but not one Briton. The Britons again probably commanded auxiliary troops of other nations. The reason of this is obvious, and the same system is still followed in the corps of Algerines and Arabs in the service of France, in which no native can rise higher than the rank of subaltern. Numbers of Romans, moreover, took service in the auxiliary bands, and would undoubtedly receive promotion in preference to the half-barbarous natives. We have the authority of Vegetius for this fact, who thus accounts for the decline of the legions:—"What has greatly contributed to the decline of our legions," he says, "is that the service is very hard, the arms heavy, the promotion slow, and the discipline severe. Most young men are afraid of it, and enlist at an early age in the auxiliaries, where the service is much easier, and there is more hope of promotion" (*Veg.*, lib. ii, c. 2).

I must now request you to turn your attention to the Brittones, whom, I suppose, we are justified in considering as men from our northern provinces, from Scotland, and from Wales. They appear to have been more numerous in the Roman army than the Britanni, and chiefly served as foot.

The first mention I find of them is in that *honesta missio* before alluded to, granted by Domitian, A.D. 85, when the Cohors I Brittonum was stationed in Pannonia, together with



the Cohors I Britannica. Another instrument of a similar character, delivered by Antoninus Pius, A.D. 145, to various troops stationed in the Danubian provinces, and among the Carpathian mountains, names the Cohors I Ulpia Brittonum Milliaria. This, no doubt, is the same cohort, and had received the surname Ulpia from Emperor M. Ulpius Trajan, for some gallant feat during the Dacian wars, or upon some other occasion. What renders the above *honesta missio* particularly interesting to us, is the fact that it was delivered to a British foot soldier of that cohort, who rejoiced in the name of Juonerius Molax, the cohort being at that time under the command of L. Nonus Bassus, a native of Campania. This interesting document was found in 1778 in the village of Tarján, twenty-eight miles from Buda (Hungary), where the Briton veteran probably had settled down as a farmer after retiring from the army.

Monumental inscriptions relating to officers of this corps have been found in different parts of Europe. A stone epitaph of a tribun of Cohors I *Flavia* Brittonum was discovered at Pesaro, in Umbria; a votive tablet to Victory, erected by another tribun, at Vito, in Carinthia, whilst at Fermo, in the kingdom of Naples, an inscription has been found in honour of the Cohors I *Ælia* Brittonum. These imperial cognomenta, in fact, vary under the different sovereigns, and were given to the Roman corps in a similar manner as "King's Own," "Queen's Own," and such like names to our regiments.

The Cohors II *Flavia* Brittonum was mixed of horse and foot, *equitata*, a honour which generally did not belong to second cohorts. That it was considered a distinction to have a number of horsemen attached to a cohort, may be inferred from an occurrence recorded by Tacitus, who relates that when Hordeonius Flaccus marched the army of Vitellius to Rome, he had among his forces certain auxiliary cohorts of Batavians and Canninifates. They were overtaken on the march by messengers from Claudius Civilis, who told them the successes of the revolted Batavians, upon which these troops at once became arrogant and exacting, and among the donatives which they demanded for their long march to Rome they particularly stipulated an augmentation of their cavalry. The Cohors II *Flavia* Brittonum was sent by Hadrian on an expedition to England, but I do not

think any traces of its whereabouts have been discovered in this country. At Camerinum in Umbria, however, a slab was found inscribed to a tribun of this cohort, who is mentioned as *electo a Divo Hadriano et misso in Expedi. Britan.* Another inscription of the year 238, relating to the same corps, was found at Picenum, in the kingdom of Naples; and at Turin the tombstone was discovered of C. Alfidius Restitutus, some time prefect of this cohort. The inscription describes him as *eques Romanus equo publico militans*, which, you are aware, proves him to have been a member of the highest equestrian order. On a rescript of Trajan, delivered A.D. 114, mention is made of Cohors II Nervia Pacensis Milliaria Brittonum, stationed at that time in Pannonia, probably at Ofen (*Acincum*). Here the name Nervia is again derived from Emperor Nerva, while Pacensis probably indicates some place where the cohort had been a long time stationed. There was a Colonia Pax Julia or Colonia Pacensis in Portugal (*Beja*); a Pax Augusta (*Badajoz*) in Spain; and a Colonia Flavia Pacensis in Thrace.

The Cohors III Brittonum was mixed of horse and foot. Third and fifth cohorts generally consisted of picked men, on account of their occupying the centre of the first line, when the legion to which they were attached was drawn up *en bataille*. In the third century the foot of this cohort was stationed in Rhætia (Tyrol, the Valtellina, Lichtenstein, and part of Switzerland), and is named in the inscription on an altar erected to Juno and Minerva, by a prefect of this corps A.D. 211. That altar was formerly walled up in the church of Eining, near Abensberg (*Abusina*), in Upper Bavaria, but appears now to be lost. In that neighbourhood the third cohort was stationed for a considerable period. Their earthworks and lines of intrenchment remain to the present day, and bear among the country people the name of the "Welsh Walls," which, I need not tell you, does not relate to Wales, but is the old German term for all foreigners. Close adjoining to these walls about thirty barrows may be seen, which have not yet been opened. The third cohort was still quartered in those parts, in the commencement of the fifth century when the "Notitia Dignitatum" were compiled. Where the cavalry was stationed is not known; its existence being merely recorded in an inscription of the second century, found at Rimini. It is in

honour of C. Nonius Cæpianus, who is described as a prefect of the *Cohors III Brittonum Veterana Equitata*.

Of *Cohors IV Brittonum* we have no other trace but a votive tablet to Minerva, erected by an *Actuarius*, a kind of Commissariat officer of this corps, which Horsley in his *Britannia Romana*, states to have been found in England, probably in Northumberland. The cohort in this inscription is called *Cohors IV Brittonum Antonianæ*. Horsley considered that there was "good reason to think that this cohort had its residence in this country;" an opinion which I am by no means willing to endorse.

Of *Cohors V Brittonum* not a vestige has been found, and of *Cohors VI Brittonum* nothing further is known, but that is mentioned in an inscription found at Braja, in Portugal, as having taken part in the Dacian wars under Trajan.

An *Ala IV Brittonum* is mentioned in the *Notitia Dignitatum* as stationed in Upper Egypt, near the town of Tsium, not far from the present Gau-el-Kebir, on the banks of the Nile. Of *Ala I, II, and III* absolutely nothing is known.

A *Numerus Brittonum* was quartered for a long period with the *Legio XXII Primigenia*, in Upper Germany, where that legion was stationed from the times of Claudius till the fall of the Roman empire. It was a body of troops larger than a centuria and smaller than a cohort, and had a commander of its own, being complete in itself. Our numerus at one time was stationed near Bingen, on the Rhine, where a stone tablet has been found dedicated by one of the men of this battalion, named Ibriomarius, to the *Genius Loci* and to *Fortuna*. Subsequently they were quartered on the river Main and in the Odenwald, where their votive tablets have been discovered in three places. One is dedicated to *Apollo* and *Diana*, another to the *Nymphs*, and a third to *Fortuna* by the *Numerus Britton. Triputien*, i.e. *Tripontiensium*, or *Triputiensium*, the Roman name for Rugby.<sup>1</sup> These four stones are eminently interesting, as they furnish us with an index to the fact that the whole *Numerus*, or at all events the majority of the men, had abandoned the *Druidic* religion, and embraced that of the Romans. There is, however, a decided *Teutonic*, or rather *Celtic*, caste perceptible in this

<sup>1</sup> In two of these inscriptions the *Numerus* is stated to have erected the stone tablets in conjunction with the *Exploratores Nemanij[ensium]*. What tribe is understood by this name I cannot conjecture.

veneration of Apollo, the Woodnymphs, the Genius Loci, and Fortuna, which in their mind were only other names for those Celtic deities whose presence was constantly suggested to them by the gloomy awful silence of the majestic German forests in the midst of which they were quartered.

Another Numerus is designated on a stone found at Ehningen (*Auriana*) in the kingdom of Wirtemberg, the inscription of which states it to have been erected by the *Numerus Brit. Cal.[edonium]*. This is the only reference I have found to Caledonians in the Roman service.

The latest particulars of the British auxiliaries occur in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, a kind of blue-book drawn up between A.D. 403-410. From this we gather that the Brittones and Brittones Secundani (*i.e.* men from Britannia Secunda) were stationed in Gaul; Invicti Juniores Brittones in Spain; Brittones Seniores in Illyria; Honorianini Atecotti Seniores and Juniores in Italy; Atecotti and Atecotti Juniores in Illyria. These Atecotti make their appearance comparatively late in the geography of Great Britain. They were in all probability akin to the Scotti, with whom they crossed over from Ireland to Britain, where they established themselves in the western lowlands of Scotland. They are the same savage but valiant tribes whom St. Jerome, in his youth, in the reign of Emperor Valentinian, saw quartered in Gaul, and whom he accuses of cannibalism, in a passage too well-known to be quoted here.

I must now apologise for the great length of the paper I have presumed to inflict upon your patience. Scanty, vague and slender as the particulars are which I have laid before you, I hope they will not have proved altogether unacceptable. Not only is it one of the most grateful occupations of the human mind to trace through the dark mist of the past, the actions and pursuits of those races which have gone before us, but also this auxiliary system itself is well worthy of attention on account of its effectual bearing and important influence on two most remarkable events in the world's history. It was one of the marked features of the degeneration of the Roman empire, and gradually but surely led to the fall of that decrepit overgrown colossus. On the other hand, the effect which these constant drains of the best and most vigorous of her youth must have had upon a comparatively thinly populated country, as Britain then was, can

better be conceived than described. A nation may bear with comparative ease the loss of a large number of men who have passed the prime of life. Nature soon fills up the vacancy, and the son takes the place of his father in the works of the field or at the domestic hearth. But when all the youth of a country are constantly carried off, not only the weak and the useless, but the healthy and the strong, many years must elapse to fill up this gap of a whole generation. Finally, after this pernicious system had been practised for three centuries and a half, by way of a *coup-de-grace*, more than one hundred thousand Britons are said to have accompanied the usurper, Maximus Clemens, in his attempt to secure the imperial crown, A.D. 390. None of these ever returned, and their fate remains a historical mystery up to this present day. Being thus completely exhausted and systematically drained of its warlike material, Britannia in the end fell an easy prey to the continued invasions of savage tribes of Frisians, Saxons, Danes, and other bands of plundering barbarians; an event, the consequence of which, on the history of the whole world, it is impossible to calculate.

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## NOTES ON BRITISH AND ROMANO-BRITISH CAMPS AND EARTHWORKS NEAR ST. ALBAN'S.

BY GEORGE VERE IRVING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT.

1. I AM afraid that we shall seek in vain for any example of an ancient British fortification in the eastern counties. Our only authority for the nature of the strongholds in the district, is the well known passage in the *Annals* of Tacitus, lib. iii, § xxxi, "Quod primi Iceni abnuere, valida gens, nec præliis contusi, quia societatem nostram volentes adcesserant; hisque auctoribus circumjectæ nationes locum pugnæ delegere, *septum agresti aggere et aditu angusto, ne pervius equiti foret*. Ea munimenta dux Romanus, quamquam sine robore legionum sociales copias ducebat, *perrumpere* adgreditur, et distributis cohortibus turmas quoque peditum ad munia adcingit. Tunc dato signo *perfringunt* aggerem, suisque claustris impeditos turbant."

I find that Morant, in his *History of Essex* (London, 1768), vol. i, p. 21, translates the above passage as a *place fenced*

with a rude rampart of earth, and adds that the Roman forces broke down the rampart. I am however inclined to give to these fortifications a much more formidable character. The whole question, however, turns on the signification we are prepared to assign to the word *septum*. It is perfectly true that *septum*, in a secondary sense, does mean *merely an enclosed space*, without any reference to the nature of the fences employed; but in its primary one it conveys the idea of a *hedge*. Now my impression is, that its use by Tacitus was intended to convey the idea of a low bank crowned by a formidable quickset,—a style of fortification which, I believe, is still to be met with among some of the less civilised nations. I am, moreover, confirmed in this idea by the fact that Tacitus uses the word *perfringunt*, which would be strictly applicable to the bursting through a hedge, but which could scarcely be applied to the digging through a rampart, however *agrestis*, or imperfectly formed.

II. When we come to the period of the Romans, I am afraid that many of our old members will think that my often repeated statement of the distinction which must be drawn between the consecutive forms of these remains, founded on the varying circumstances in which these constructions were placed, will be considered rather a bore; but as they may be probably new to many who are attending our St. Alban's Congress, I think that I may venture shortly to repeat them.

These Roman remains, of this nature, may be divided into *four* distinct classes:

1st. Their stations, when they appeared as an expeditionary army fortifying, as was their wont, their encampments, if only occupied for a single day; but increasing the strength of the ramparts if circumstances detained them on the spot. These encampments are generally of a large size.

2nd. When they had overrun the district, but the natives were still turbulent and unsettled. In these circumstances they secured their means of communication by erecting a number of small forts, or *præsidia*, along their course. These being occupied by a comparatively small garrison, are of much smaller dimensions; but were generally, for the same reason, provided with a supply of water within the ramparts, in accordance with the rules laid down by Vegetius in his treatise *De Re Militari*.

3rd. Walled towns inhabited by a mixed civil and military population; and

4th. Villas and detached residences, often of great extent and magnificence, as witness their tessellated pavements. Some of the latter, however, which have been the residence of high military officers, have evidently contained within their *enceinte*, which is slightly fortified, the quarters of a considerable number of the legionaries and their auxiliaries.

In applying these rules to the district now to be visited by our Association, I am surprised to find how little has been recorded by our leading antiquarian writers. In fact, while the lines of road had been carefully traced, the notices of the fortifications are most imperfect. I can find only notice of *one* in Lysons' *Bedfordshire*, which is in these terms, p. 27 :—"The Roman station near the village of Sandy, on the hill above this village, is a large camp called Cæsar's Camp (once possibly a *British Post*); but the coins and every species of remains decidedly point out the Roman town in the valley beneath it."

There is, however, nothing here to suggest any British fortification, but only successive ones of Roman origin. Those of our members who were present at the Norwich Congress will recollect that I, at the request of our lamented Treasurer, Mr. Pettigrew, procured a horse and rode out to the camp at Tasburgh, which had not been included in the programme, rejoining the members at the important walled station of Caistor, when I reported that the opinion I had formed was that Tasburgh was the original camp, and Caistor the subsequent walled city.

At our Newbury Congress we found an exactly similar instance to that of Sandy on the height above the river. On the crest of the hill there were decided remains, although much injured, of an extensive Roman encampment, while in the hollow below us lay the village of *Speen*, undoubtedly the *Spinæ* of the Itineraries, where numerous Roman remains had been found.

In making these remarks I have strictly confined myself to the only part of the subject with which I profess any acquaintance, viz., the fieldworks and fortifications of that class, leaving to the more competent hands of our Secretary Mr. Roberts, our Treasurer Mr. Hills, and our other architectural members to discuss the remains of buildings to be found in such undoubted Roman towns as St. Alban's, Dunstable, and Godmanchester.

## Proceedings of the Association.

MARCH 9TH.

REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, M.A., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THANKS were returned for the following presents :—

*To the Society.*—Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for Proceedings, vol. viii, Part I, Quarto : Edinburgh, 1869.

*To the Publisher.*—Alexander Thom, Esq., for Ancient Laws of Ireland, vol. ii. Published under the direction of the Commissioners for publishing the Antient Laws and Institutions of Ireland, Royal 8vo : Dublin, 1869.

Mr. J. W. Baily exhibited the following objects from an excavation in Finsbury, January, 1870 :—Portion of a chain mail collar ; fragment of mail, probably adapted for going under the arm ; three daggers ; one spearhead made out of very thin hollow metal welded up at the edges, and used, perhaps, as a pageant spear ; four spurs, one being a prick-spur ; two spoons, one of horn and one of wood ; a string of wooden beads ; nine knives, three having engraved handles of coloured figures of the time of Henry VII ; a bronze handle in the form of a lizard, probably the handle of a covered tankard ; a flat cap, Henry VII ; two feeding bottles.

Mr. J. W. Grover exhibited objects dug up at Verulam, consisting of bones of animals and fragments of bronze, pottery, glass, and mural fresco painting.

Mr. Walter L. Holt exhibited a number of silver jettons executed by Simon de Passe.

Mr. H. T. Holt exhibited a Chinese seal of great antiquity, bearing the inscription, *Pe keite* (Japan, *He Keets*], “the helm,” or “the raft is tied,”—a sentence taken probably from a book or poem, and used as a motto by some individual or family. Also a small collection of objects relating to the worship of Priapus.

Mr. Edward Levien, in the absence of Mr. S. Cuming, read a paper by that gentleman on “Early Tetinæ, or Feeding Bottles,” accompanied by an exhibition of specimens from his own collection and those of the Rev. S. M. Mayhew, Dr. Kendrick, and Messrs. Cato, Brent, and J. W. Baily (see *ante*, pp. 109-114).

MARCH 23RD.

THOMAS WRIGHT, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were returned to the author, Henry William Humfrey, Esq., for "Guide to the Study and Arrangement of English Coins; giving a description of every denomination of every issue in gold, silver, and copper from the Conquest to the present time, with all the latest discoveries," Part V, 8vo: London, 1870.

Mr. Walter Holt exhibited the following objects:—1. A knocker in wrought iron, from the south inner door of the Cathedral at Ulm, German work, latter part of the sixteenth century, removed consequent upon repairs in 1862. The ornamental platework at the back has been formed by piercing and filing out the perforations, and then defining the forms with the graver. 2.—An early specimen of a German "Pilgrim's Bottle" of brown earth, approximate in form to the short and flat Roman amphora; and from which the glaze has been partially worn off by use. It cannot be placed in an upright position, and is slightly flattened on one of its sides, for the sake of convenience.

Mr. George R. Wright exhibited a model of a mint die of a James I shilling, discovered in a farmhouse chimney in Yorkshire.

Mr. J. W. Baily exhibited some objects from the railway excavations now being made in front of Somerset House, viz.: three iron spurs, an iron spear-head, having apparently belonged to a pageant spear of the sixteenth century, a side of a very large-sized horse's bit, and the head and shoulders of a hollow metal statuette found at a great depth in the mud of an excavation for a dock at Wapping. It is made of a sort of coppery brass, and has been silvered over. It is evidently of foreign manufacture, and Mr. Baily suggested that it might be a reliquary, its period being that of the latter part of the sixteenth century.

Mr. W. H. Black thought that it might be a representation of some noted person who was living at the time of its execution, and Mr. Baily promised to exhibit it at a future meeting, as Mr. Black's opinion might, perhaps, be substantiated by the identification of the features with those of some historic personage.

Mr. Grover exhibited some horns of an elk, or large stag, and a portion of a human skull, found on the Middlesex side of the Thames in making the excavations for the foundations of the bridge carrying the West London Extension Railway across the river in 1862. They were in the peat at about twenty-five feet below the Trinity House high water mark, the skull being evidently that of a young person. Mr. Grover also exhibited drawings of the Roman Mosaic pavements at Bignor, and a photograph of a centurion stone now in the possession of Mr. Joslyn, Lexden Road, near Colchester, having carved upon it a



MFAVONMFPOLFACL  
 LS'DLEQXXVEREQND  
 VSEINOVIC&BBPOSV  
 ERVNT H S E



Roman military figure, and the following inscription: M. FAVON. M. F. POLL. FACILIS. > LEG. XX. VERECUNDUS ET NOVICIUS. LIB. POSUERUNT H. S. E.; i. e., *Marcus Favonius Marci filius Pollii Facilis Centurio Legionis vicesimæ. Verecundus et Novicius liberti posuerunt. Hic situs est.* Professor Hübner, who is one of the Editors of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Romanorum*, now being published by the Academy of Sciences at Berlin, says, with respect to this stone:—"The character of the writing, the absence of the epithet of the Legion, *Valeria Victricæ*, and the excellent execution of the sculpture render it highly probable that M. Favonius Facilis, of the tribe Pollia, was a centurion in the twentieth legion at the time when Agricola commanded it in England. Consequently it belongs to that rare class of monuments of older date that have been found in that country."

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, F.S.A., Scot., V.P., read the following remarks on "The Game of Hop-Scotch":—

"Among the numerous remains of Roman fictilia lately exhumed at Wilderspool, near Warrington, Dr. Kendrick has discovered a considerable quantity of bases and portions of the sides of vessels, which he believes have been, more or less, chipped and worked down into discs for some special purpose, and which he remarks 'would be admirably fitted for our modern game of Hop-Scotch,' inquiring at the same time if any such sport was prevalent with the Romans. I have seen hundreds of discs similar to those brought to notice by Dr. Kendrick, but have in most cases attributed their attrition to chance and accident rather than to design, but the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson has kindly presented me with two examples, in which the wearing down is palpably intentional. Both these specimens were discovered at Chesterford in Essex, one being the foot of a Samian cup showing file-marks, or the traces of smoothing on a flat stone; the other is a somewhat ovoidal piece from the side of an Upchurch olla chipped into form. Mr. Watling tells me he has found a number of quoits at Stonham, Suffolk, formed out of pieces of Roman flange-tiles, varying from two to two inches and a-half in diameter, and from five-eighths of one inch in thickness, some being carefully rubbed down, others only roughly chipped into shape. He has also met with 'quoits,' formed by rubbing down the bases of vessels, and 'evidently used by children in Roman times.' It certainly never occurred to me that such discs as those now submitted were ever employed as game-pieces, but Dr. Kendrick's hint and query are at once interesting and suggestive, and not to be lightly passed over.

"The sport of Hop-Scotch, or Scotch-Hoppers, is called in Yorkshire 'Hop-Score,' and in Suffolk 'Scotch Hobbies or Hobby,' from the boy who gets on the player's back whilst hopping or 'hicking,' as it is there termed; and in North Britain it is known as 'Peevers, Peeverels, and Pabats.' Strutt (*Sports and Pastimes*, ed. 1838, p. 383) says that

in his memory the game was 'played in this manner: a parallelogram, about four or five feet wide and ten or twelve feet in length, was made upon the ground and divided laterally into eighteen or twenty different compartments, which were called *beds*, some of them being larger than others. The players were each of them provided with a piece of a tile, or any other flat material of the like kind, which they cast by the hand into the different beds in regular succession, and every time the tile was cast, the player's business was to hop upon one leg after it, and drive it out of the boundaries at the end where he stood to throw it; for if it passed out at the sides, or rested upon any one of the marks, it was necessary for the cast to be repeated. The boy who performed the whole of this operation by the fewest casts of the tile was the conqueror."

"I believe the table for the game of Hop-Scotch is represented in some of the old leaden dumps which, from time to time, are recovered from the mud of the Thames. Those I now exhibit were found in 1846, and seem to set forth the centre of the table, consisting of an oblong-square with a saltier reaching from corner to corner, the intersection being surrounded by a ring. In Suffolk, according to Mr. Watling, the player is allowed to rest with the left foot on the dexter side of the ring, and with the right on the sinister side. But the ring is not always introduced either in practice or on the old dumps. And it may here be noted that the spaces between the arms of the saltier bear two designations, that nearest the point where the sport begins being called *Box Iron*, the others *Heaters*. There is sometimes a circle drawn in the fourth, or extreme bed, denominated the *Boiler*, and if the quoit by chance goes on it the player is out. Hence the cry—'Biler, Biler, you're a spiler.'

"The way in which Strutt speaks of Hop-Scotch would almost lead us to infer that the game was then nearly obsolete, but it is really as rife now as ever, the *gamins* scotching or scoring the table on the ground with a pointed stick, or with chalk upon the flag-stones, and using, for the quoits or men, leaden dumps, oyster shells, pebbles, bits of flat wood, slate and stone, and likewise pieces of brick, tile, and potsherds, so that if present fashions be any reflex to those of bygone ages some of the remains of vessels, etc., found at Wilderspool, Stonham, and other localities may possibly have been employed during the Roman era in some such a game as that here described. The sport of Hop-Scotch is so simple in its laws and character that we might readily believe it to be of ancient origin, but I am bound to confess I can remember no earlier allusion to it than that made in *Poor Robin's Almanack* for 1677, where in the poem on the dos of the title page we are told—'The time when schoolboys should play at Scotch-hoppers.' In the same *Almanack* for 1707 we read—'Lawyers and physicians have little to do this month, and therefore they may (if they will) play

at Scotch-hoppers ;” and, further, in the edition of 1740 it is stated that — ‘The fifth house tells ye when it is the most convenient time for an old man to play at Scotch-hoppers among the boys.’ Johnson cites the following from Lock—‘Children being indifferent to anything they can do, dancing and Scotch-hopping would be the same thing to them.’

“According to a correspondent in *Notes and Queries* (4th series, vol. vi, p. 94) the game of Hop-Scotch exists in India under the name of *Ekariá Dukariá*, the piece of tile being denominated *khapollo*. This fact favours in a high degree the probability of the remote antiquity of the sport so much loved and practised by the London urchins of the present day.”

Mr. T. Wright said that the specimens exhibited by Mr. Cuming in illustration of his remarks had been evidently used for some game of pitching, but he did not think that any proof could be adduced of Hop-Scotch having been known to the Romans.

Mr. Grover thought that such pieces of fictile ware as those before them might have been used on a large-size board for some game resembling draughts.

Mr. H. F. Holt read a paper on “Hans Holbein as a historical painter,” which will be found printed at pp. 121-31*ante*, and laid on the table in illustration of it two original drawings by Holbein, which were now exhibited for the first time.

Mr. Black gave an account of his discovery of Holbein’s will, and of his communications upon the subject made to the Society of Antiquaries. He said that some writing which appeared in one of Mr. Holt’s drawings was in the hand of Elias Ashmole, and that the “Walker” mentioned was Sir Edward Walker, Garter King at Arms. He thought that it had been intended for illumination.

Mr. Joseph Warren sent for exhibition the photograph of a bronze fibula, accompanied by the following remarks :—“I send a photograph of a bronze fibula found in Ixworth some months since, one on each shoulder of a skeleton, and both exactly alike. They differ from any I have ever seen in having a hole drilled transversely in the small projection below, in which is part of an iron rivet, as if something had been suspended. There is not any gilding remaining on it.”

Dr. Brushfield sent for exhibition a coin struck in Spain for the use of the Spanish colonies, *circa* 1600, found some years since at Dunsmoor, near Rugby. A satirical medal in reference to the excise bill of Sir Robert Walpole 1739, having on the reverse Sir Robert and the Devil, with the legend “make room for Sir Robert” and “no excise ;” on the obverse a full-length figure of the Duke of Argyle, with the legend “the generous Duke of Argyle” and “no pensioners.” Also an ecclesiastical badge of a Jesuit Convent, probably in Italy, of about the end of the sixteenth century.

APRIL 13TH.

GORDON M. HILLS, ESQ., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. J. W. Baily again placed on the table the portion of the statuette or reliquary which he had exhibited at the last meeting (see *ante*, p. 240), with a view to his further discussion by the members present.

Mr. W. H. Black said that, acting upon his previously expressed opinion that this was intended for the representation of some well-known individual, he had searched diligently to try and identify it. He believed that he had succeeded in doing so, and thought that it might be intended as a likeness of John Hampden. He had brought with him a portrait of that celebrated person, with which it could easily be compared.

The Chairman observed that there were certainly some points of resemblance, but they were, he thought, scarcely sufficiently marked to enable the meeting to commit itself to an opinion that this statuette was undoubtedly intended as a likeness of Hampden. Portraits of him were very rare, and after instancing those well-known examples which exist, Mr. Hills said that the real intention of the object before them still remained very doubtful.

The Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson considered it to be a reliquary. There were some heads, he remarked, bearing a considerable resemblance to this in the church of St. Ursula at Cologne.

Mr. G. G. Adams said that treatment of all the details, both in the head and shoulders of the figure, indicated a very low style of art, and he was inclined to attribute it to quite a modern period.

Mr. J. W. Baily observed that he did not exhibit it on account of its artistic merits, but merely to obtain the opinion of the members upon its age and object. Upon the whole, he was inclined to agree with those who regarded it as a reliquary, and who attributed its date to the end of the sixteenth or the early part of the seventeenth century.

Mr. Baily next exhibited a fragment of a Samian bowl very peculiarly ornamented, found in an excavation near Guy's Hospital in March last. It had been broken, and was fastened with rivets contemporary with the period at which it was made.

Mr. Roberts said that the ornaments on the bowl were most uncommon, and showed a form of cusping not earlier than the reign of Henry VII. Hence some persons might be led to think that it was even as late as that period; there was, however, no doubt but that it was Samian, although possibly an imitation of the genuine article, and produced at a more recent date than the ordinary ware.

Mr. Baily remarked that the peculiarities of ornamentation pointed out by Mr. Roberts were by no means of such rare occurrence as that

gentleman seemed to think, and he had no doubt of the fragment produced having belonged to a bowl of genuine Roman Samian ware, an opinion in which the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson entirely concurred.

Mr. Walter L. Holt exhibited three medals struck in London, commemorative of the marriage, Scottish coronation, and execution of King Charles I:—

1. The wedding medal, struck on the marriage of the King with Henrietta Marie at Canterbury, on the 24th of June, 1625, having upon its obverse the youthful monarch and his bride, in profile respectant, the blessing being indicated by the rays above them. The legend is—CH. MAG. ET HEN. MA. BRIT. REX ET REG.—the singularity consisting in the medallist having styled the King as “Charles the Great,” and expressed his name in English, the remainder of the sentence being in Latin. The reverse shows a winged cupid, having in both hands a nosegay of lilies and roses, with the legend—FUNDIT. AMOR. LILIA. MIXTA. ROSIS. The date 1625 is at the base.

2. A medal struck in commemoration of the entry of Charles into London on the 20th July, 1633, after his return from Scotland, where he had been crowned on the 18th June previous, and whereon he is described as “*Monarcha*,” instead of “*Ree*.” Obverse—The King in armour on horseback, the “Rose and Crown” appearing on the saddle-cloth, and his plumed casque on the ground. Legend—CAROLUS AUGUSTUS. ET INVICTUS. MAG. BRIT. FRAN. ET HIB. MONARCHA. Reverse—View of Old London Bridge, St. Paul’s, Old Swan Wharf, the river Thames, with shipping, boats, etc. Legend—SOL ORBEM REDIENS SIC REX ILLUMINAT URBEM, the letter E above the sun standing for Edinburgh.

3. A medal, struck after the King’s execution on the 30th January, 1649. Obverse,—the bust of the deceased monarch, with the legend, CAROL. D. G. M. B. F. ET. H. REX. GLOR. MEM. Reverse,—an arm issuing from a cloud, and holding in its hand a five-starred celestial crown. Legend,—VIRTUTEM. EX. ME. FORTUNAM EX ALIJS. At the base a landscape with animals.

Mr. Walter Holt exhibited also the fan presented by H.R.H. the Princess Charlotte to Martha, Countess of Elgin (her Governess), on New Year’s Day, 1809.

Mr. Gordon Hills exhibited a photograph of a vase found on the race-course at Ipswich.

The Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson exhibited a small black leathern bottle; a fragment of Samian pottery having the same impression stamped three times upon it, and presenting the appearance of having been in the fire; an implement resembling a pair of small shears, used by opticians for reducing the outer edges of glass lenses, so as to make them fit into a frame, having the following inscriptions engraved upon it, with the date 1729:—

“Wer nür das end betracht, thüt alles mit bedacht”;  
*i. e.*, “Who doth regard the end, each action will perpend.”

On one of the shanks :—

“Wer mit Jungferen umb will gehen  
 Und beij ihnen woll bestehen,  
 Der müs Reden mit Bedacht,  
 Sonsten wird er ausgelacht”;

*i. e.*, “Who with young ladies would consort,  
 And worthy of their love be thought,  
 With prudence must his converse rule,  
 Or else incur their ridicule.”

On the other shank :—

“Eine Jungfrau tugendreich  
 Ist Gold undt edlen Perlen gleich,  
 Mit Jagen kan man sie nicht fangen,  
 Man müs sie von Gott erlangen”;

*i. e.*, “A maiden dowered with virtuous mind,  
 Like precious pearls and gold refined,  
 By human foresight ne'er is gained,—  
 A prize from Heaven alone obtained !”

And two seals, the larger one having the legend—JEHAN . BRENOT . S .  
 [IEUR] DE PROVENCHIERE (a village of Franche Comté in the bailiwick of  
 Vesoul), a coat of arms of three bends, and crest on a helmet, with  
 wreath and ornamental mantling, a stag's head coupé—early sixteenth  
 century ; the smaller one having the head of an ecclesiastic, coupé  
 between the shoulders, with the apparent legend—S[IGILLUM] IANSIN . F .  
 MEUS . UNICUS—French or German, late fifteenth century.

Mr. Phené exhibited a small Roman amphora, found in the neigh-  
 bourhood of Spitalfields, and now in the possession of the Rev. John  
 H. Hill, Rector of Cranoe, Leicestershire.

Mr. J. W. Baily exhibited a copper plate, one inch and three-twelfths  
 high by two inches and eleven-twelfths wide, engraved with the  
 martyrdom of a Saint. Found near Brooks' Wharf, Upper Thames  
 Street, August, 1869.

Mr. Cecil Brent exhibited a copper plate, two inches and three-  
 twelfths high by one inch and two-twelfths wide, engraved with the  
 standing effigy of a king. Exhumed in Canterbury, 1869.

These exhibitions were accompanied with the following note by Mr.  
 H. Syer Cuming :—

“The specimens submitted, though small in size, are nevertheless of  
 great interest, both having been doubtlessly engraved for the purpose  
 of printing from. The subject on Mr. Baily's plate is clearly the  
 cruel Martyrdom of St. Erasmus, which took place during the reign of  
 the Emperor Diocletian, *circa* A.D. 303. The nimbed victim is stretched

upon the ground with a cloth fastened about the loins, and above him is the windlass, round which are coiled the Bishop's bowels as they are drawn from the body through the navel. At either end of the machine stands a man busily engaged in turning it. The costume of the soldier at the handle of the windlass near the Saint's feet determines the date of the engraving, for he wears the conical *salade*, and a breast-plate with the lower half rising to a peak, so characteristic of the military harness of the middle and second-half of the fifteenth century. Behind the instrument of martyrdom is a group of five male figures, two on either side the chief person, being in the act of supplication. The central effigy wears a turban-like head-dress, and long gown with great sleeves falling in ample folds about the lower arm. He raises his left hand to the level of his chin, and holds a sword erect in his right hand, which arrangement would, of course, appear reversed in an impression. These several figures are engraved in outline without the slightest attempt at shading. On the dos of the plate is graven a Gothic *A* and a small goose. Such are the leading features of this highly curious relic, which was, in all probability, produced as an illustration to some volume wherein the legend of St. Erasmus had a prominent place.

“It is a prevailing belief that Bettini's work, entitled *El Monte Sancto di Dio*, the printing of which at Florence was completed by Niccolo di Lorenzo, on the 10th day of September, 1477, was the first book published with copper-plate illustrations, executed, it is thought, by the famous Florentine goldsmith Baccio Baldini, the pupil of the still more famous Maso Finiguerra. The habits of the figures on the plate from the Thames, as well as the style of art it displays, proves it to be of the era of Baldini, so that it may fairly be regarded as one of the earliest examples of chalcography for literary purposes that has reached our time. It may, perhaps, be urged by some that this plate was never intended to print from, inasmuch as in the impression the sword held by the turbaned figure would appear in the left, instead of the right hand. If this objection was accepted, we might as well say that several of the plates attributed to Baldini were never designed to print off on paper, as many of the *Ss* are reversed in the impressions. There can be little question that very many of the earlier book-plates were engraved by men whose burin had previously been active in decorating weapons, dishes, and utensils with inscriptions and figures, so that their legitimate occupation would educate their hands to commit errors of the kind here specified; errors, however, which may not unfrequently be detected in the works of artists who flourished long subsequent to the fifteenth century. The copper-plate exhibited by Mr. Brent represents King Charles II holding a fleur-de-lys topped sceptre in the right hand, which, of course, would be transferred to the left in the impression. I feel assured, from the youthful countenance of the

monarch, as also from the coarse manner of engraving, that this plate was executed in Holland during his forced exile, *i.e.*, between the years 1651 and 1660, and most probably by some one who was likewise employed in embellishing the brazen tobacco boxes so fashionable in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century. In this quaint delineation of our second Charles he appears crowned and in armour, with the George suspended on his breast, an ermine mantle about his shoulders, and full-topped boots reaching nearly to the knees.

“I have thought it proper to give these minute descriptions of the two engraved plates now exhibited, as by their publication in our *Journal* we may, perhaps, discover the titles of the works for whose illustration they were wrought.”

Mr. Henry F. Holt read a paper on “Fans, their Antiquity, and Uses,” which will be found printed at pp. 200-213.

APRIL 27TH.

GORDON M. HILLS, ESQ., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

THANKS were returned for the following presents:—

- To the Society.* The Cambrian Archæological Association, for *Journal* No. 2, Fourth Series, 8vo, London, April, 1870.
- „ „ Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, vol. ix, New Series, 8vo, Liverpool, 1869.
- „ „ The Trustees of the Blackmore Museum, Salisbury, for “Flint Chips, a Guide to Prehistoric Archæology as illustrated by the Collection in the Blackmore Museum.” By Edw. T. Stevens, Esq., Hon. Curator of the Museum, 8vo, London, 1870.
- To the Author.* E. G. Squier, M.A., F.S.A., for *Essay on The Primæval Monuments of Peru compared with those in other parts of the world.* Reprinted from the *American Naturalist*, vol. iv, 8vo, Essex Institute (U.S.) Press, 1870.
- To the Editor.* John Rae, Esq., for *Statutes of Henry VII in exact fac simile* from the very rare original printed by Caxton in 1489, 4to, London, 1869.

Mr. Watling sent a coloured tracing of a fresco discovered not long since, above the chancel arch in the church of St. Mary, Yaxley, Suffolk. The following note by Mr. H. Syer Cuming accompanied the exhibition:—“The painting in Yaxley Church was undoubtedly executed in the first half of the fifteenth century, and represents the Final Doom in a most hideous manner. As usual in scenes of the Last Judgment, bodies are shown rising from the graves, but there is nothing grand nor awful in the treatment of the subject, every part being gross and repulsive. The design may be described as consisting of two lines of

figures. In the higher line appears the arch-fiend with a straight horn pointed forward, ass'ears reflected, and tufted tail reaching nearly as low as his three-toed feet. In his left paw is held a singularly-shaped bladed weapon, and he seems to press to his body what is considered by some as a sort of breast-plate, and by others a target. Some distance before this demon chieftain is a group of male and female sinners encompassed by a strong band, which is dragged along by a wicked-looking old fiend with a turned-up tail. One of the ladies in this unhappy group wears a spiked crown or coronet. In the front or lower line of figures may be noticed a group of four persons, consisting of a devil with a face like an ancient *persona comica*, bearing on his back a female, whom another demon is evidently employing as a decoy to snare a turbaned youth, who gazes affectionately in the fair one's face. One of the first victims to taste the fiery element is a tonsured priest, who is canted down head-foremost by a disagreeable looking old fiend with goat's horns and sharp-pointed teeth. The proverb that 'the devil is not so black as he is painted' has no force at Yaxley, neither will the fresco in question support the popular idea that his satanic majesty's livery is black and yellow, for prince and vassals are all of the same fleshy hue as their miserable nude victims. Another and far more important feature to remark on in this strange picture are the straight single horns which rise from the foreheads of four of the demons, and which are identical in fashion with that borne by the pictorial unicorn—an animal which from time immemorial has been accepted as a type of purity. To give the impure the emblem of purity is a sly bit of artistic satire quite in keeping with the well-known practices of the middle ages.

"It may be well to add that on the splays of the window immediately above the apex of the chancel-arch are two winged figures, one bearing a cross, the other a post or beam with a curious spear."

Mr. Roberts suggested that the implement in the arch-fiend's hand, instead of being a shield or target, might be an instrument of torture.

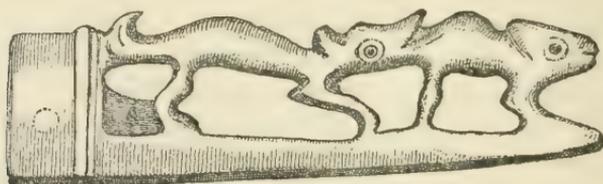
Mr. Watling also exhibited two richly-coloured full-sized copies of painted glass in the windows of Long Melford Church, Suffolk. One painting, apparently executed towards the close of the fifteenth century, represents the kneeling figure of a lady with her hands clasped in prayer. Her necklace, if so it may be called, resembles a coronet reversed with a cross-tau depending from it. Her mantle is emblazoned with arms. Beneath in four bands is the following inscription:—"ORATE. PRO BO', STATU LAURE'CH. RE'I'SFORTH MILIT'. ET DNE. HUNGERFORD FILIE COMITIS NORTHUMBRE."

The second picture represents the standing effigy of Edmund the Martyr, crowned and royally robed, with a sceptre in the right hand and an arrow, point downwards in the left. At the king's feet kneels the

mitred abbot of Bury supporting the pastoral staff with the right hand, whilst before him is an open book. On a strip beneath, are the words —“ORATE P. A. ABBATIS DE BURI.” The ecclesiastic here delineated is said to be John Reeves *alias* Melford, the thirty-second and last Abbot of Bury St. Edmunds, who was elected to the office in 1520, and died in 1540, one year after he had surrendered the monastery. The painting, however, might fairly claim a somewhat earlier date if we were to be guided solely by its style of art.

Mr. J. W. Grover exhibited a Roman-British *scyphus*, or bowl, found in fragments in excavating for a sewage drain opposite St. Peter's Church, Dorchester; a Roman fibula; and a Roman *capulus*, or knife-handle, in bronze, with a steel blade, of which a woodcut is here given.

ROMAN *capulus*, OR KNIFE-HANDLE.



SIDE ELEVATION

A Remains of Steel Blade (FULL SIZE)

FRONT ELEVATION



The two latter objects were found in Wollaston Field, Dorchester; and all the specimens now exhibited by Mr. Grover were, as he stated, obtained by him from Mr. G. Pouncy, of that town.

Mr. Roberts called attention to the works now going on in the Edgware Road, and said that in various places, where excavations had been commenced he had observed the old Roman pitching extending all the way from Tyburn to Maida Hill. He had pointed this out to the surveyor of the district with a view to its preservation, and that gentleman had promised to take the matter into his consideration. He intended to investigate the matter still further, and hoped at some future period to lay before the Association further details, and to be able to announce to them that measures had been taken not to destroy so interesting a remnant of the ancient Roman road.

Mr. Grover said that no doubt similar traces of the Roman pitching existed near St. Alban's. As he was professionally employed in the neighbourhood, he would take care to have this point investigated, as he quite agreed with Mr. Roberts as to the importance of preserving all such remains.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills read the following letter, addressed by Mr.

James Farrer to the Rev. Prebendary Searth, in reference to his paper upon "Chedworth Villa," printed in the *Journal*, vol. xxv, pp. 215-227 :—

"Ingleborough, Lancaster, Feb. 5, 1870.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have been much interested in reading the account of the last meeting of the Archaeological Society at the villa in Chedworth Wood; and, as I perceive the octagon reservoir gave rise to some discussion, I venture to make a few remarks, founded on my notes taken at the time of the discovery, which may, perhaps, assist in solving some of the questions put by members of the Society. The octagon reservoir when first discovered was filled with rubbish and broken stones; the large pillar, now placed as a supporter of the modern roof over the baths in your plan marked H, was amongst the *débris* in the reservoir. The spring that supplies the reservoir is immediately behind the wall of the circular chamber, and the drain conveying the water is in the same condition as when first opened out; the spring itself was clogged up more or less with dirt. I had it cleared out and built over with stones and puddled, confining the water as far as possible to its original source. The *altar* was found in the corner of the circular chamber, and at a *lower* level than the drain. The reservoir itself is in the same shape as when first met with, and unaltered with the exception of some slight repairs to the stone work. The *modern* lead pipe supplies the place of the old one, which was much decayed. This old pipe conducted the water from the reservoir into a small trough close adjoining; this trough was broken in excavating; it was sixteen inches long, thirteen inches wide, and eight inches and a-half deep. The water after leaving this trough became lost in the subsoil; and, though every effort was made to find the drain, we could not succeed in doing so. An uncovered stone drain was found at a short distance on a lower level, but it was not sufficiently developed to justify the opinion that it was necessarily connected with the reservoir. Though I do not feel competent to express any positive opinion as to the time when the reservoir was first constructed, I think there is conclusive evidence that it was during the latter part of the Roman or Roman-British occupation; walls so decayed that it was found impossible to preserve them, even if the progress of the excavations would have admitted of their being preserved, ran in different directions, and one wall, eighteen feet six inches long and two feet wide, ran *across* the entrance to the chamber (I think part of this still remains). It diverged from the straight line in a sloping direction, towards the chamber where the masses of iron were found. The circumstance, however, that leads me to infer that this part of the building is of somewhat later date than other portions of the villa, is the following :—In one of the removed walls was found a stone (it is preserved in the Museum) built in as a building stone which had at one time formed a portion of an ordinary easing trough to carry off the rain water (many of which were found amongst the ruins of the villa), and this stone itself had *at some time* been broken off a *fluted column*. I am no architect, but it seemed to me something like a rude imitation of part of the head of a Corinthian column. We have no evidence of the time when the villa was built, nor are there any local traditions that even hint at its destruction, but it would seem not improbable that the *first* villa having been destroyed



the *second* was constructed out of its materials, and the top of the broken column was made after being hollowed out suitable for carrying off the water. This *second* building in its turn would seem to have been destroyed, and its materials afterwards used in constructing a *third* edifice, the ruins of which have been brought to light by my excavations. With reference to the observation of Mr. E. Roberts, I may state that the mortar used about the reservoir is, of course, modern to a great extent; this was found necessary in order to preserve the watertight character of the tank. I find a note in my reference books that one of the flag-stones forming the bottom of the reservoir had been taken from some old building. I think I have now touched on all the points connected with the octagon reservoir; but if I can give any further information I shall be happy to do so.

“Believe me, yours faithfully,

“The Rev. Prebendary Scarth.

“JAMES FARRER.”

Mr. G. G. Adams exhibited a very finely executed box-wood carving of the martyrdom of St. Sebastian, probably Italian work of the fifteenth century.

Mr. Roberts laid on the table some charred vegetable substances consisting of charcoal, tares, and wheat, found by Mr. Thomas Wright in the tumulus opened by him at Knebworth, in August, 1869, and forwarded for exhibition by the Rev. — McKenzie.

Mr. T. C. Archer exhibited a rudely executed wood carving of about the beginning of the last century, representing a male figure standing on the clouds and clinging to the cross. Satan is clutching at his right leg, and behind the cross is a table with the eucharistic chalice and paten. It was suggested that it might be an illustration of Christian clinging to the Cross in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*.

Dr. Silas Palmer, M.D., of Newbury, exhibited the following articles thus described by him:—

Two tobacco stoppers of brass; one of them a figure of Britannia, two inches and five-eighths high, found in an old house at Newbury; the other, two inches long, having a flat oval handle formed as a medallion, bearing on one side a crowned bust surrounded by the inscription—FEAR GOD HONOUR THE KING; on the reverse—a coat of arms nearly obliterated, with lion and unicorn supporters. The bust has long flowing hair as of the time of James II.

A steel casket belonging to Mr. Lang, of Thatcham, four inches and three-eighths long, two inches and a-half wide, and two inches and a-half high; the top of the lid and all four sides are engraved. A gentleman and lady appear on the lid and front, the costume of the time of Charles I, and a single figure on each end; at the back are drawn two medallions, one having the bust of a man wearing a helmet with the visor raised, the other also having a bust wearing a helmet with the visor closed and of a beaked form. The lid fastens with two spring bolts, which are opened together by one key.

Two fine flint axes, eight to eight inches and a-half long, one of them perfectly smoothed and polished, the other roughly chipped into form ready for completion by the finishing workman. They were found on Bankes Farm, near Newbury, three years ago, by a labourer digging to form a withy bed. They were four feet below the surface in a bed of peat, and remained in this man's possession till January last. It is said that bones were found with them.

Dr. Palmer also exhibited a quantity of articles which he described as found in the digging of a well in Newbury, at the back of the London and County Bank. In the course of the work a turf or peat bed, of the river Kennet, was perforated, and in this the singular melange of objects exhibited was found, viz. : Parts of the ruins of five large jars, the neck of a pilgrim's bottle, and the handle of a vessel which is perforated with holes communicating with the inside of the vessel for the purpose of admitting air and cooling the contents. Eight pewter spoons, two of which have an acorn-shaped ornament at the top of the handle ; one of the examples is small, the bowl being one inch and a-half by one inch ; the others vary but little in size, being about two inches and a-half by one inch and three-quarters in the bowl. A large rude iron harness buckle, and six buckles, some of steel and others of bronze or brass ; some for silk girdles or bands, one for a leather strap, the latter, perhaps, mediæval, the others of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A pair of iron buttons connected at their shanks by an iron wire link and forming a coat link ; a small brass drop handle of a cabinet ; a pair of shears ; and a pair of spring nippers or callipers. Twenty-two iron keys varying in size from two to seven inches long. The peculiar ogee-shaped bow of one should be noticed, and the slot formed inside the bow of two of the smaller ones as if to give them the use of "spanners" or "wrenches;" only six are pipe keys, and the largest of these, six inches long, seems to have been tubular in the stem from top to bottom, the bow is a circle of flattened iron. A satirical medal on Sir Robert Walpole, the counterpart of that exhibited at the last meeting by Dr. Brushfield. A medal (of which many examples are extant) commemorative of the capture of Porto Bello, November 22, 1730, by Admiral Vernon. A leaden token *r* with an indistinct figuring on one side, and *w* with an hour-glass on the other (see such tokens, *Journal*, vol. xxii, p. 354, etc.) A brass handled table knife of the last century, with part of another. A small sheath knife belonging to a lady's needle-work equipments. The handle has been laid over with a silver or other soft white metal in delicate wreaths and scrolls of foliage which remain in relief on an iron core, some kind of enamel groundwork, which fell in between, the foliations having perished, and an ivory bone or other top to the hilt having also been lost ; an upholsterer's needle, eight inches long ; two spurs of modern make ; an iron

spit, twelve inches and a-half long, with ornamented head; an iron lance-head, fourteen inches long; a fetter-lock; a small horse-shoe; an iron ring four inches and a-quarter diameter, perhaps the washer of an axle-tree for the nave of a wheel; an iron bill-head, with blade twelve inches long and two inches and three-quarters wide. Some bone objects, viz. : a spoon three inches and a quarter long; a needle six inches and a-quarter long; a disc two inches diameter and three-sixteenths of an inch thick, with circles engraved on its face. A brass finger-ring and two brass pins. Lastly, two or three animal jawbones and some tusks.

Besides the articles sent, Dr. Palmer says there were found at the same time and place pêle-mêle with them bones of the wolf, Caledonian ox, wild boar, goat, dog, horse, beaver, and roebuck, coins of Henry VIII, Mary and William III, and so on to George III. One of the coins plugged with gold, with some of the others, are now in the Museum at Newbury. The whole, Dr. Palmer observes, forming a most curious melange.

Mr. Gordon Hills communicated the following particulars relative to the discovery of a stone coffin and human remains at Bradford-on-Avon, county Wilts :—

“At the meeting of the Wilts Archæological Society at Bradford-on-Avon (as reported in the *Builder*, August 22, 1857) the Rev. W. H. Jones, vicar of Bradford-on-Avon, remarked that from most of the Roman coins being found in the upper part of the town now called Budbury, the Roman settlement must have been there. In clearing out a well a few years ago, he understood that a large number of short swords, a ring, and other things had been discovered, but he had never seen any of them, nor heard so exact a description of them as to enable a correct judgment to be formed as to their age. In the same field there is still the appearance of earthworks.”

I have now the pleasure of laying before the meeting an extract from the *Wiltshire Independent* of January 13, 1870, upon this subject, which has kindly been forwarded to me by Mrs. Daniel Jones. The lady undermentioned has made the following communication :—

“On the 4th of January, at Bradford-on-Avon, Wilts, on the premises of Mrs. Daniel Jones, Tor House. Immediately opposite the back entrance to Mrs. Jones’s house John Gay, who is an experienced quarryman, began to dig a hole, six feet from the front of his own door, for the purpose of making a drain to take away the ‘runnings’ of the place. He struck at once on something unusual, as he said, ‘from the sound and feel of his spade,’ made it instantly known to Mrs. D. Jones, who immediately took the position of guardian and superintendent of the work. With the greatest care the surface earth was removed, and, by very carefully tracing the outline of the impediment, it

was found to be a stone coffin made of two kinds of stone, both of which could have been dug near this place. One, by its nature, is much softer than the other, but neither is the real freestone, but, in technical terms, is called a bastard sort.

“The coffin has a very perfect joint at the knees, measures in length in the clear five feet three inches; width, thirteen inches in the widest part across the shoulders, nine inches across the knees, and eleven inches across the feet; depth, ten inches. It had been covered at the head with three or four rough stones, and on the lower part with wood which was decayed and broken in so that the coffin was filled with earth.

“The whole is very roughly constructed, shewing no chisel marks either inside or outside, some kind of ‘pick’ being the only implement used. In form it is rounded at the head and square at the feet. Its position, with the head west, is within two degrees due east and west. The skeleton was found in the coffin. The feet are absent, owing to the spade having been driven immediately into the foot of the coffin, and the bones being tossed out with the dirt. The leg-bones, knees, ribs, sternum, arms, and shoulders are singularly complete; but the general appearance of the figure gives an uncomfortable and painful feeling that this corpse must have been rudely thrust into its place, the width, thirteen inches, not being sufficient. The shoulders are evidently cramped up, and the chest altogether narrowed. The teeth lie regularly round the upper and lower jaw, and are not discoloured.

“Some few straggling bones were found outside the coffin and at the same depth, and are pronounced to be those of animals.

“Many sinkings have been made at different times for the purpose of ashpits, etc., within a few feet of this relic, but we have no record at present of any discovery on this plot of ground. Some fifty years ago a well was sunk one hundred and fifty yards distant in a field, when a cave was found containing military arms, and stone coffins have also been dug up in the town of Bradford by workmen now living; but no workmen recollect any coffin of this peculiar shape and make.”

Mr. Roberts read the following paper, by John Harris, Esq., on

#### THE CURFEW BELL IN THE TOWN TOWER, ST. ALBAN'S.

“The curfew bell in the town belfry at St. Alban's has been a subject of much controversy and speculation for some years; and in various guide and other books such conflicting statements exist concerning it, that we will now endeavour to put an end to further doubt, and arrive at somewhat of the truth of its history.

“Upon proceeding into the bell-loft of the tower, we shall find that it contains two bells. The smaller we will speak of again presently, but will say in passing that it is called the “Market-Bell,” being used

for market purposes, and also as an alarm-bell for fires. It has a diameter of 1 foot  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches. Its note is D 3 in alto. Its weight, without the clapper, is 2 qrs.  $14\frac{1}{2}$  lbs.; with the clapper, 2 qrs. 19 lbs. And it is inscribed THOS. ROBINS MAYOR OF ST. ALBANS 1729. It was cast by Richard Phelps, who in the same year cast the eight larger bells of the peal of twelve at St. Peter's. Thus much now, as we will speak more of this bell in connexion with another and older bell at the Minster presently.

"We will now proceed to examine the curfew bell. Its diameter is 3 ft.  $10\frac{1}{2}$  ins; its note F natural. Its weight, therefore, is about one ton. It is inscribed +MISSI DE CELIS HABEO NOMEN GABRIELIS+. The cross at the end of the inscription is identical with that at the end of the inscription, +SUM ROSA PULSATA MUNDI MARIA VOCATA+, on the sixth bell of the peal at All Saints Church, Sudbury, Suffolk, which has also the same diameter, and speaks the same note; and as this church of All Saints belonged to the Abbots of St. Alban's, who presented to it from 1307 till the Reformation, it seems probable that this sixth bell at All Saints was cast at St. Alban's. The inscription, "*Sum Rosa Pulsata Mundi Maria Vocata*," is a very common one on old bells, as on the tenor bells at St. Martin's, Stamford; and at Dinton, Wilts; both of which speak this same note, F natural.

"The curfew bell is a most beautiful casting. The rubbings I exhibit give but a poor idea of the inscription; but as the letters are in such high relief, and the frame is so close to the bell, it was the best I could obtain under the circumstances. As to the *date* of the bell, it has been given in various books as 1070-1077 and 1260. All these dates must be wrong, as is evident from the lettering of the inscription. However, one thing which I maintain is, that this bell is older than the tower which contains it; and which was built, 1402-27, for the purpose of holding this very bell, and for a town belfry. Where the clock face is now, was a sun-dial formerly.

"We will now turn to the Abbey records in Matt. Paris, Wendover, Rishanger, and Walsingham, and we shall find that about 1043 one great bell was given by 'Wynflod,' wife of 'Egelwine the Swarte'; about 1077 bells were given by Paul, the fourteenth abbot. To these were added two more by Litholf and his wife. Litholf was a Saxon nobleman who resided in a woodland part of the neighbourhood, and having a good stock of sheep and goats, he sold many of them, and bought a bell; of which, as he heard the new sound, when suspended in the Minster tower, he said, 'Hark, how sweetly my goats and my sheep bleat!' But his wife procured another for the same place, and the two together produced a most sweet harmony, which, when the lady heard, she said, 'I do not think this union is wanting of the divine favour which united me to my husband in lawful matrimony

and the bond of mutual affection.' One bell appears to have been given, soon after this, by 'John, the rector of Hoddesden.' About 1214 one bell, called 'St. Mary,' was cast by William de Trumpington, the twenty-second abbot. About 1260 Roger de Norton caused a bell to be made, called 'St. Alban'; a second, called 'St. Catherine'; and a third, called 'Amphibal,' which last 'was a very large and deep sounding bell, and he caused it to be struck every night at the time of the curfew.' He broke four old bells to furnish the metal for these three.' About 1335 the bell called 'Amphibal' was broken. Michael de Mentmore, the then abbot (twenty-ninth) caused it to be recast, and the bell called 'Alban' also; and he provided *another great bell, called 'Gabriel'*; which bells he dedicated, and caused 'Amphibal' and the new bell, 'Gabriel,' to be rung at the curfew. In 1451 a new bell, called 'St. John,' was cast by John Bostock de Wheathamstead upon his reelection. This is the last we have any account of. There were five of the *old* bells in the tower in 1698; but these were broken up to form, with additional metal, the present peal of eight in 1699. Had they remained to this day, we might have been able to throw further light on the matter; but from the internal evidence we have just been reading, those five bells appear to have been—1, 'St. Mary,' cast about 1214; 2, 'St. Amphibal,' cast about 1260, and recast about 1335; 3, 'St. Catherine,' cast about 1260; 4, 'St. Alban,' cast about 1260, recast about 1335; 5, 'St. John,' cast about 1451.

"The *frame* of the original peal of five remains in the Minster tower to this very day; but it appears most plainly that the curfew bell, 'Gabriel,' was cast about 1335. How it became the property of the Corporation, and so was placed in the Town Tower, we cannot say. This much, however. The Corporation purchased the Minster for £400, in 1552, and it is still their property; but 'Gabriel' was placed in the Town Tower long before, as it will appear from a record in the borough chest, bearing date 1490. It is a lease to 'John Newberry and others'; and the tenant covenanted 'to kepe and rewle' (rule) 'the clock in the said Tower, and to smyte and kepe his reasonable hours; and daily and nightly to ryng the bell of the same clock, by the space of half a myle way, between the hours of eight and nine of the same clock, at afternoon, and at the hour of four of the same clock before noon; and to keep all in repair, except the bell and clapper.'

"In 1594, 18th Nov., another lease was granted to Robert Wolley, for twenty-one years, at £20 annual rent, he bearing the charge of ringing the town-bell, and keeping the clock in repair. This bell, therefore, we find to have been cast about 1335, and is not so old as has been supposed. A word as to its harness. The central suspending bolt and the gudgeons and bearing brasses appear to be the original, as also the wooden stock to which the bell is fastened, which is unusu-



ally large. No doubt also the frame is of the same date, although it has, at various times, been repaired. There is very little of the original wheel left now ; but what there is is interesting, being so totally different from those made now. Its *size* is remarkable, being no less than 8 ft. 6 ins. in diameter. The *old* treble at Luton, Beds., which was recast by Pack and Chapman in 1775, bore a similar inscription to the curfew bell in question, viz., +D'NA ELIZABETH UXOR EJUS MISSI DE CELIS HABEO NOMEN GABRIELIS +.

“The curfew bell was rung at eight o'clock nightly so lately as 1862, but since the restoration of the Tower it has been discontinued. The only purpose it is used for now is for the clock to strike the hours upon.

“In 1698 there were five of the old bells remaining at the Minster, as before mentioned ; also a ‘Sanctus bell,’ which still exists. I would just say also that St. Peter’s had six old bells till the year 1729 ; St. Michael’s four, to the year 1739 ; St. Stephen’s four, so lately as 1803. There were nine other churches existing here before the Reformation, but no account of their bells has been met with at present.”

Mr. Roberts observed that the form of the letters on the St. Alban’s curfew bell, and various other incidental circumstances, showed that it was not earlier than Henry the Seventh’s reign. He did not, however, propose to enter fully into the matter on the present occasion, as the Rev. Mr. Lukis, who was well known to be one of the best authorities upon the subject, and who entirely agreed with him in the opinion he had expressed, would enter more fully into the question in a paper connected with church bells, which he had kindly undertaken to prepare for the *Journal*.

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Lordship, however, was unwilling that there should be any formal acknowledgments ; and the carriages having been ordered, the guests took their departure.

It may be added that the church, which is situated in the park, at a short distance from the house, will accommodate between four and five hundred persons. It contains the family monuments, and has a roof of the thirteenth century, with a ceiling of plaster.

On arriving at the pretty village of Ayott St. Lawrence, the party was met by the rector, the Rev. J. Olive, who kindly invited the members and their friends to the Rectory, where refreshments were provided for them. Over the doorway of one of the rooms was the original portrait of John Bunyan, painted by Sadler in 1684. Opposite to the Rectory there are most picturesque ruins, covered with ivy, of a Gothic church. In the midst of the ruin is the tomb, with recumbent figure, of Sir John Barre. This church was superseded by one of a very different architectural character,—a Grecian building,—which stands in a meadow some distance off. The Rector gave the company a history of the manor, which has been for a long period in the possession of the Ames family.

On leaving Ayott St. Lawrence the party proceeded to Wheathamstead, *via* Lamer Park, and arrived at the village at 7 o'clock. They were courteously received by the Rev. O. W. Davys, who first conducted them round the exterior of the church, and explained the interesting features of its architecture. In his address Mr. Davys said they were in the midst of what was formerly the wheat-manor of the kings of England. This manor was presented by Edward the Confessor to the Abbey of Westminster. It is supposed that a church was built here at that time. There might have been a church erected here before. In *Domesday Book* they found that the rector enjoyed the same privileges as are now possessed ; and it was remarkable that the endowments should have continued from so early an age down to the present time. When restoring this church, all they had to do was to repair it as carefully as possible, with the single exception of the west window, which they found they could not repair. They therefore had to put in a modern window ; but in doing so they tore up pieces of the old window. There is evidence that the fabric was of the time of Henry III, and that it followed, to a considerable extent, the fortune of Westminster Abbey. The church is dedicated to St. Helen. It has a square tower which is surmounted with a curious leaden spire. The materials forming the walls are flint and freestone. There is reason to believe that some parts of the church which still remain are as ancient as the times of Edward the Confessor, particularly a round headed doorway in the south transept. During the progress of the restoration fragments of Norman architecture were found in the building. The church

underwent great changes during the Decorated period, and the work then done is excellent both in execution and design.

Having pointed out the chief features of the exterior, the Rector took the company into the interior of the edifice. He drew their attention particularly to an east window, which is of a remarkable and beautiful character, with a rich reredos below. It is in the north transept, and was discovered during the progress of the restoration. It had been blocked up by a monument of the Garrod family. In the glass is the head of a leopard, which corresponds with the brasses below of the father and mother, etc., of John of Wheathamstead, one of the last abbots of St. Alban's. The inscription was written probably by the abbot himself. The present pulpit is not placed where the original pulpit stood. It is of carved oak, and is of the date 1634. In the south transept there was a private chapel belonging to the Brocket family; and traces have been found, in the east wall of this transept, of a fine shrine which once stood there. There is a fine alabaster tomb belonging to the same family. There is also a beautiful monument, of a much later date, to the Garrod family in the north transept. Under the west window the arch of a doorway can be seen from the outside. The foreman of the works, willing to surprise him (the Rector), by making a particularly neat job of it, pointed the arch. There was a beautiful window over the Brocket Chapel, which needed no restoration. The arches supporting the central tower are finely proportioned, and it is probable that this tower was originally designed for a lantern tower of lofty proportions. Some interesting discoveries had been made in the upper chamber of the vestry or sacristy. Before the restoration there was no access to this chamber. In the chancel-wall were found two of a series of side lancet-windows corresponding to the east window, thus proving that the vestry was added afterwards. The early windows were plastered up; and when the plaster was removed, the remains of wall-paintings were found. The room thus ornamented was, no doubt, a priest's room above the sacristy. The sacristy-door, of Early English style with dog-tooth mouldings, was originally a priest's door. The font is of a very ancient date, and there is a handsome piscina on the south side of the east window. The sittings are all of oak. Those in the north transept are of the old Elizabethan oak-work brought over from Lamer Chapel. There are no fixed sittings under the tower, in front of the pulpit, the floor being paved with encaustic tiles. The chancel-stalls are very handsome; and the remains of elbows of ancient stalls have been found, and restored with poppy-heads copied from the old stalls. The altar-wall is very beautifully decorated. The approach to it is paved with elegant encaustic tiles. The east window is of stained glass, representing the chief events in our Lord's history. An inscription informed the visitors that it was

## Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 199.)

THURSDAY, AUGUST 5TH.

A LARGE gathering of the members and of the surrounding gentry left the Town Hall, at about 10 A.M., in carriages for Hatfield House, the grand historic seat of the Marquis of Salisbury, where they arrived at about 11 o'clock. After rambling through the noble grounds and gardens for an hour, they then inspected the state apartments of the house, the chapel, library, etc.

The party left Hatfield shortly before one o'clock, and proceeded along the high road, by way of Welwyn, to Knebworth, the seat of the President, Lord Lytton. Lord Lytton had invited a numerous party of friends to meet the Association, and the beautiful grounds of Knebworth were thronged during the afternoon. Among those present were Earl Cowper, the Hon. Henry Cowper, M.P.; Sir Henry and Lady Bulwer; Mrs. Bulwer; the Hon. and Rev. Lowther Barrington; Mr. Abel Smith, M.P., and Lady Susan Smith; Baron and Baroness Dimsdale, etc. The guests, on arriving, were most courteously received by Lord Lytton at the great entrance, and passed into the gardens, which, freshened by recent rains, looked extremely beautiful. From the lawn a fine view of the house with its gilded pinnacles, which give to the old Tudor structure an oriental aspect, is obtained. The remoter portions of the gardens, the terraces, the secluded walks, verdant alleys, the maze, and the quaint old rocks roofed in with greenery, were all visited, and a pleasant hour passed before luncheon, which was served in the great dining-hall, one of the finest apartments of the house, rich in carved oak-panelling, which was adorned with lustrous gold plate, the heirlooms of the Lyttons. The provision made for the guests bore witness to the noble hospitality of the host; and while one set of guests crowded round the tables, the rest remained in the gardens listening to the music of the band of the Grenadier Guards, or wandered about the house inspecting the fine pictures and other objects of interest it contains, the exquisite furniture of the state rooms, and the gorgeous ornamentation of the ceilings. Attention was particularly directed to the series of pictures of the time of the Stuarts.

About four o'clock P.M. some of the company, conducted by Mr. Thos. Wright, visited a barrow situated just outside the park, across the Stevenage road. Mr. Wright here addressed them, and explained the nature of these interesting relics, and the special features of this particular one. He gave the conjectural derivation of the word "barrow," and said that it came from the Anglo-Saxon, and that it meant a "hill" or a "little hill." This barrow was not a small one, nor yet a large one. Not long ago he assisted in opening a Hertfordshire barrow 25 ft. high, and something like 80 or 100 ft. in circumference. The barrow before them was not supposed to be a barrow until recently. The fact of its being a barrow was very much doubted. Many said that it was a mere mound, and even the suggestion was made that it might be a very large mole-hill! They began to open it on the previous Friday, and had continued the work up to that morning. They had to move an immense mass of soil, and it was not clear where that came from. It contained a large number of flints, which must have been brought from a distance. These showed the quantity of labour expended in the formation of the barrow. On digging into the barrow they came to a floor which was about the level of the floor outside. They then discovered a mass of stones scattered over with burnt wood. In the centre they found some small finger-bones. These were taken to Knebworth. He (Mr. Wright) apprehended that the body had been laid on the funeral pile, and burnt. The principal bones had probably been put in an urn. The custom was to place them in an urn, or without an urn, on a heap of charcoal, and sometimes they were covered over. In many instances they found another urn near the bones. When they had opened the trench to the centre, or a little beyond it, they came to very large piles of stones. They thought they should probably find an urn filled with larger bones; but they did not find one. No doubt that this was the burial-place of some one whose bones had been deposited on some pile of stones. He was rather puzzled to account for not finding an urn. It may have been put in a pile of stones raised just outside the barrow. Another supposition was that another tumulus had been raised over the urn. It was a rather curious circumstance if it was so. No doubt this barrow was of the Roman period, but it was not necessarily a Roman barrow. The soldiers of the Roman army were recruited from every country in the world, and thus Roman customs were adopted. Probably people in towns, and rich people, were buried in cemeteries; but those buried in these barrows were most likely those who were engaged in agriculture, many of them being mere slaves.

Before leaving Knebworth, Mr. Gordon Hills intimated to Lord Lytton the anxiety of the Association to give expression of their thanks for his hospitality, and the pleasure afforded them by their visit. His

presented by Mrs. Drake Garrard of Lamer Park. There is a very elaborate roof to the chancel.

At the conclusion of the examination of the church, the party proceeded to the Rectory, and partook of the generous hospitality of the Rector and his lady. After returning their sincere thanks for the kindness and courtesy with which they had been received and entertained, they resumed their seats in the carriages, and returned to St. Alban's.

The evening meeting was held in the Town Hall, under the presidency of Thos. Wright, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., V.P., when the following papers were read: "On the Meaning of the Name Verulam, its Geographical Significance and Relations," by W. H. Black, Esq., F.S.A., which will be printed hereafter; "On William Kemp and his Nine Days' Wonder," by T. F. Dillon Croker, Esq., F.S.A., which is given at pp. 114-121 *ante*; "Notes on British and Romano-British Camps and Earthworks near St. Alban's," by George Vere Irving, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., which will be found at pp. 236-238 *ante*.

At the conclusion of the papers Mr. Grove Lowe exhibited and described some plans of dykes, or mounds of earth, on the sides of the valley called "Beech Bottom," which was connected with another and smaller dyke near Wheathamstead, called "The Devil's Dyke." An interesting discussion followed as to the use of these dykes, Mr. Lowe maintaining that it could not be ascertained, while other gentlemen thought they were for military purposes.

After the usual votes of thanks had been passed to the authors of the papers, and to Mr. Thomas Wright as Chairman, the meeting separated.

#### FRIDAY, AUGUST 6TH.

At 9.30 the members assembled at the Town Hall, and immediately started in carriages for Great Berkhamsted. On their arrival they were met, in the absence of the Rector, by one of the Churchwardens, Lieut.-Col. Smith-Dorrien. They were first shown over the church, which was in the course of restoration. It is dedicated to St. Peter. The east end is a good specimen of the Early English style and is the oldest part of the edifice, being probably constructed about the beginning of the thirteenth century. The arches of the nave are very elegant, their date is of the period immediately succeeding that of the eastern portion of the building. In the north transept there is an original groined roof. The transepts and the chapel of St. Katherine, on the south side, are of the decorated period, and are remarkable for their beauty; and a window in the north transept has very elegant tracery. The chantry of St. John the Baptist was built about 1350.



The windows in the Early English aisle on the north side form interesting specimens of the transition period from the Decorated to the Perpendicular style of architecture. The present roof of the main building was constructed about the reign of Henry VI. There is a beautiful timber pillar supporting the roof of St. John's chapel, and is probably of the same date. The windows of the nave belong to the same period, *i.e.* about 1450. The most modern portion of the building is the tower, which gives to the exterior a noble appearance. There are three altar-tombs in the church. The oldest brass in the church bears the date of 1356. A tomb in the north transept, with a floriated cross, is the earliest monument in the church. In the chancel is a tablet to the memory of Ann Cowper, the poet's mother, with some lines written by Lady Walsingham. On a stone within the Communion rails is an inscription, which records that in the same place were interred the three sisters and three brothers of the poet, who all died in their infancy. It was at the old rectory house that the poet was born, and in his father's handwriting in the register of the parish is the following entry:—"1731, Decr. ye 13, Willm., ye son of John Cowper, D.D., rector of this parish, and Anne, his wife, was baptized." The house where the youthful poet was said to have gone to school,—

"Where the gardener, Robin, day by day,  
Drew me to school along the public way,  
Delighted with my bauble coach, and wrapped  
In scarlet mantle warm, and velvet cap,"

was pulled down only some fifteen or twenty years ago.

The remains of the ancient castle, over which they were conducted by Colonel Smith-Dorrien, was the constant residence of the family of the Black Prince, and of the Prince himself when he was in England. The actual ruins which remain are not very extensive. The wooded mound round the castle moat forms a very beautiful walk, which is much prized by the inhabitants of this locality. Both the church and the castle are fully described in two able and interesting lectures on *The History and Antiquities of Berkhamsted*, by John Wolstenhome Cobb, M.A., delivered in the winter of 1855; and published by T. B. Nichols of 25, Parliament-street, London.

After a stay of not quite two hours the party left Berkhamsted and proceeded to Nash House, which is midway between Box Moor and King's Langley. Here they were welcomed with hearty courtesy by Mr. John Evans (who is one of the Vice-Presidents of the Association) and Mrs. Evans, and conducted by them to an elegant cold collation which had been prepared in the Conservatory, but which was served on tables placed on the lawn. Seats were placed here and there under the pleasant shade of the trees, and the company were assiduously attended to by Mr. and Mrs. Evans and their family.

After ample justice had been done to the delicacies set before the company, Mr. Evans conducted them to his extensive and valuable collection of specimens of flint implements, antique seals, rings, bracelets, etc. In another apartment was displayed a large and rich collection of coins. After all these objects had been explained by Mr. Evans in a most interesting and instructive lecture, tea and coffee were served in the conservatory, and Mr. Roberts having tendered the thanks of the Association to Mr. Evans for his kindness and for the valuable information he had given, the party proceeded to Hemel Hempstead, where they were received by the vicar, the Rev. J. B. Pugh. The exterior of the church was examined, and then the members entered the building by the beautiful west door, the architecture of which was described to them by Mr. J. W. Grover. On leaving the church they proceeded to the residence of C. E. Grover, Esq., of whose hospitality they also partook, and then returned to St. Alban's.

At the evening meeting the chair was taken by W. Bradley, Esq., the Mayor of St. Alban's. Mr. H. F. Holt read a paper on "The Shrine of St. Alban's and the Abbey Relics," which will be printed in the next number of this *Journal*; and exhibited a collection of valuable relics, some of which, contained in a beautiful ivory case, had belonged to Catherine de Medicis. He also handed round for the inspection of the company an antique gold ring, which was dug up in a ploughed field in St. Alban's about sixty years ago, and a curious wood-carving, representing souls being delivered out of purgatory by angels.

Mr. George Wright, F.S.A., then read a paper on "Episodes in the 'good Duke' Humphrey's Life and Career," which will be printed hereafter, and, with the usual votes of thanks to the Chairman and the readers of the papers, the meeting was brought to a close.

## Biographical Memoirs.

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SINCE the publication of our last obituary we have to record the decease of the following members of our Association:—

ARTHUR ASHPITEL, Esq., who was born in December, 1807, and died 18th January, 1869, was an active and efficient supporter of our Society from its first establishment. He commenced his career in life as an architect, having learned the profession in his father's office, and after an extensive practice in this country went to Rome in 1854. There he remained for a considerable time pursuing his studies with that zeal and diligence which were habitual to him, and in 1858-9 he exhibited at the Royal Academy two pictures called respectively "A Restoration of Ancient Rome," and "Rome as it is," as the results of his labours in "the immortal city." In 1847 Mr. Ashpitel was elected an F.S.A., and the papers contributed by him to the *Archæologia* and to the *Journal* of our Association, not to mention the minor contributions by his pen in various other publications, bear ample testimony to his extensive reading, his deep practical knowledge, and the ability with which he treated any subject to which he had applied his mind. He had collected an extensive and valuable library amounting to between three and four thousand volumes, and this, together with the vases he brought with him from Italy, he bequeathed to the Society of Antiquaries, which learned Society has considered the gift so important that the Council "has given directions" (to use the words of the noble President in his annual address to the fellows) "not only that a special and appropriate book-plate be inserted in each volume, but that the whole collection, books and vases, be made the subject of a special catalogue, which, under the name of the 'Ashpitel Collection,' shall be a lasting memento of him whose worth we this day commemorate, and whose death we this day deplore." Mr. Ashpitel was a Fellow, and afterwards a Vice-President, of the Royal Institute of British Architects, and he was a frequent contributor of sessional papers and other communications to that Society. He also supplied various articles connected with his profession to *Notes and Queries*, and several other magazines and reviews. In private life he was held in high esteem, both on account of the extent and variety of his social accomplishments,

and his amiable disposition and cheerful habits endeared him to a large circle of friends.

WILLIAM WANSEY, Esq., F.S.A., was one of the oldest members of the Fishmongers' Company, of which he had served as Master. He joined our Association in 1845, and died at Bognor on 27th April, 1869, in the 86th year of his age.

THE VERY REV. GEORGE WADDINGTON, D.D., was born in September, 1793. He was educated at the Charter House and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was Browne Medallist in 1811, University Scholar and Chancellor's Medallist in 1813, and graduated B.A. in 1815 as Senior Chancellor's Medallist. He was subsequently elected to a Fellowship at Trinity College, and spent some years in foreign travels. He published in 1822 "A Visit to Ethiopia," in 1825 "A Visit to Greece," and in 1829 a work on "The Present Condition and Prospects of the Greek or Oriental Church," with some letters written from the Convent of the Strophades, and in 1835 a "History of the Church from the Earliest Ages down to the Reformation," 3 vols. 8vo), followed, in 1841, by a "History of the Reformation on the Continent" (also in 3 vols. 8vo). Besides these he was the author of several minor works. In 1841 he was nominated to the Deanery of Durham, and many of our members will remember his kindness and courtesy during the Annual Congress of our Association held there in 1865. He joined our Society in 1865, and died 20th July, 1869, aged 76.

WILLIAM HENRY FORMAN, Esq., of Pippbrook House, near Dorking, joined our Association in 1857. He was engaged in business as a merchant in the city of London and at Doncaster, but had considerable antiquarian taste and knowledge, and had acquired a noteworthy collection of antiquities, specimens of which he frequently exhibited at our evening meetings. He was also a constant attendant at the Annual Congresses of the Association, and evinced a warm interest in its general prosperity. Mr. Forman died at Fonthill House, near Tunbridge Wells, on the 28th August, 1869, in the 76th year of his age.

GEORGE VERE IRVING, Esq., of Newton, Lanarkshire, only son of the late Alexander, Lord Newton, one of the Judges of the Court of Session in Scotland, was called to the Scotch bar in 1837, was an F.S.A. of Scotland, and a member of the Council of our Association. He was a frequent contributor to our *Journal*, and to the *Collectanea Archæologica*, published by this Society. His antiquarian knowledge was varied and extensive, and of late years he devoted special attention to the study of ancient camps and earthworks, upon which he wrote several papers remarkable for the knowledge he dis-

played of his subject, and the skill with which he illustrated it. His communications are also often to be found in the pages of *Notes and Queries*, and in 1846 he published, in conjunction with Mr. Alexander Murray, a work in 3 vols., entitled *The Upper Ward of Lanarkshire Described and Delineated*, which was favourably spoken of in the *Athenæum* and several other periodicals, as a book containing much valuable information upon the various matters of which it treats. Mr. Irving was the author of the archæological section of this work, while Mr. Murray contributed the statistical and topographical portion. Up to the time of the illness which resulted in his death, he was engaged in preparing for publication a valuable selection from the "Lauderdale Papers" in the British Museum; and the last production of his pen was the paper upon "British and Romano-British Camps and Earthworks at St. Alban's," which is printed at pp. 236-8 *ante*. His loss will be sincerely regretted, not only by the members of those learned Societies with which he was officially connected, but by a large circle of private friends whom his genial character and warmth of heart had attracted to him. He joined our Association in 1852, and died at his residence, 5, St. Mark's Terrace, Regent's Park, on 29th October, 1869, in the 54th year of his age.

SIR JAMES PRIOR, R.N., F.S.A., M.R.I.A., was born in 1787, entered the Medical Service of the Navy at an early age, and was principally employed on the East Coast of Africa, the East Indies, the Eastern Islands, and Brazil. He was afterwards a Flag-Surgeon, served at the surrender of Heligoland and at the reduction of Java and the Mauritius. In 1814 he was ordered to accompany the 1st Regiment of Imperial Russian Guards from Cherbourg to St. Petersburg; in 1815 was stationed on the coast of La Vendée, and was present at the surrender of Bonaparte. He was, subsequently to this, employed on home service as Staff-Surgeon to the Chatham Division of the Royal Marines, Assistant to the Director-General of the Medical Department of the Navy, and a Deputy-Inspector-General of Hospitals and Fleets. He had received the naval medal, and was made a Knight Bachelor for his services in 1858. He was the author of a *Biography of Edmund Burke*, which is published in *Bohn's Classical Library*, a *Life of Edward Malone*, and some minor works. He was elected a member of our Association in 1845, and died at Brighton on the 13th Nov., 1869, aged 82.

CHARLES FREEMAN, Esq., of 20A, St. James's Place, joined the Association in 1856, and died in the autumn of 1869.

THOMAS BRAND, Esq., of East Sutton, Sledmore, Yorkshire, became a member of our Association in 1859. He was a frequent attendant at our Annual Congresses, and died in the autumn of 1869.

THE RIGHT HON. GEORGE IVES IRBY, BARON BOSTON OF BOSTON, Lincolnshire, in the peerage of Great Britain, and a baronet, was eldest son of George, third lord, by his wife, Rachel Ives, eldest daughter and co-heir of the late Mr. William Drake, of Amersham. He was born 14th September, 1802, and married, first, 25th January, 1830, Fanny Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Mr. William Hopkins Northey, of Oving House, Bucks, who died in 1860; and, secondly, in 1861, the eldest daughter of Lord De Saumarez. He succeeded to the peerage on the death of his father, 12th March, 1856, and is himself succeeded in the title by his only son, the Hon. Florence George Henry Irby. The deceased peer was descended from Anthony Irby, an eminent lawyer, a member of Lincoln's Inn, and a Master in Chancery in the reign of James I, who had previously represented Boston in Parliament in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He died in 1625, and his son, Sir Anthony, also represented Boston in the time of Charles I. The peerage dates from the year 1761. The late lord joined our Association in 1861, was elected a Vice-President in 1865, and filled the office of President in 1866-7. He had a valuable and extensive collection of objects of antiquarian interest and of *vertu*, specimens of which he constantly exhibited at our evening meetings, and these were admirably described and illustrated in various papers, and short notices by his friend, Mr. H. Syer Cuming, our able and respected Vice-President. His lordship died at his residence in Wilton Crescent, on 22nd Dec., 1869, aged 67.

THE RIGHT REVEREND JAMES PRINCE LEE, D.D., F.R.S., first Bishop of Manchester, joined our Association in 1850, having been one of the patrons of the Manchester Congress held in the autumn of that year. He was born in 1804, and was educated at St. Paul's School, and Trinity College, Cambridge (B.A., 1827, M.A., 1831, D.D., 1848), where he obtained the Craven Scholarship, and afterwards a Fellowship of Trinity. He was appointed an Assistant-Master at Rugby in 1830, under Dr. Arnold, and remained there until 1838, when he accepted the Head-Mastership of King Edward's Grammar School, Birmingham. On his nomination to the newly-constituted Bishopric of Manchester in 1848, by Lord John Russell, considerable opposition was manifested on personal grounds by a few individuals, and the confirmation of the election, under the Royal mandate, by Dean and Chapter, was opposed at Bow Church. The opposition was overruled, and Dr. Lee was eventually enthroned. The deceased prelate scrupulously kept aloof from all parties in the church, and since the day of his elevation to the episcopal bench studiously eschewed politics. He died suddenly on the 24th December, 1869, in the 66th year of his age, leaving a widow and two married daughters.

We have also to regret the loss of M. A. CHARMA, of Caen. This gentleman was a Hon. Fellow and Corresponding Member of the Society of Antiquaries of London, Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Normandy, and a Honorary Member of our own Association. He died during the course of the year 1869, but we have not been able to ascertain his age or the precise date of his death.

# THE JOURNAL

OF THE

## British Archaeological Association.

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DECEMBER, 1870.

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### NOTES ON A GROUP OF RELIQUARIES.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

IN a former paper I have shown that, from a remote period of antiquity, the relics of renowned individuals were preserved in the temples of the heathens.<sup>1</sup> They were at first regarded as mere curiosities, strange things to be gazed at with wonder; but the very fact that they occupied places in buildings devoted to the worship of the gods, invested them, in some degree, with a sacred character. The overthrow of paganism did not obliterate, but rather augmented, the craving after mementos of the great and good: the old passion continued with increased force, the spirit alone was changed. The corporal remains and personalities of Christian martyrs and others who during life had manifested peculiar holiness, were sought out and guarded with affectionate care by their co-religionists: hence the number and variety of receptacles constructed for their conservation, differing in size from the ponderous chest to hold the entire body, the *chef* for the head, and case for the dismembered limb, to the tiny cavity in the brooch and ring to be worn on the bosom and the finger of the devout.

Relics were not, however, constantly preserved in distinct cases; but were at times incorporated, so to speak, with other matters. Thus one of the reputed holy nails formed a portion of the helmet of Constantine the Great,<sup>2</sup> another

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal*, xviii, p. 153.

<sup>2</sup> See *History of the Holy Cross*, by Lord Mahon, read before the Society of Antiquaries, Feb. 10, 1831.

was in the hilt of his sword,<sup>1</sup> a third worked up in some way in the bridle of his horse;<sup>2</sup> and a fourth passion-nail, beaten into a narrow circlet, gives name to "the iron crown of Lombardy."

But our thoughts on the present occasion must be directed to the shrines or cases specially contrived for the keeping of sacred relics; and as we have none before us for the conservation of an entire corpse, we will begin with the *chef* for the head,—that noble portion of the human frame so earnestly contended for by the religious in all ages of the Church, and the boasted possession of which has caused such angry revilings between rival houses. Sir John Mandeville tells us, in his *Voiage & Travaile* (c. viii), that the head of the protomartyr Stephen, was in St. Saviour's Church at Jerusalem; and we further learn from the credulous old knight (c. ix) that the hind part of the skull of John the Baptist was at Constantinople, the fore part in the church of St. Sylvester at Rome, and the lower jaw at "Gene"; but he adds that some men say that the head is at Amiens in Picardy; and be it also known that the *real skull* was likewise in England, in the church of St. John the Baptist at Trimmingham, Norfolk. This is, however, no solitary instance of one saint having two heads attributed to him. In the church of St. John Lateran, at Rome, are silver-gilt jeweled *chefs* made in the year 1369 by the goldsmiths Giovanni Bartoli of Sienna and Giovanni Marei, containing the veritable heads of St. Peter and St. Paul;<sup>3</sup> and the heads of these self-same apostles, with that of St. Thomas, were, says Nugent in his *Travels in Germany*, among the stores of relics at Doberan, in the Duchy of Mecklenburg Schwerin. The head of another apostle, that of James the Great, was to be seen in the Abbey of St. Bertin at St. Omer.<sup>4</sup> The crowned heads of the "Three Kings" or Magi, Caspar, Melchior, and Balthasar, together with those of Saints Felix, Gregory, and Nabor, are shown in the Cathedral of Cologne. And who has not heard of the skulls of fair Ursula and her eleven thousand maidens, preserved in the church of the Holy Virgins in the same city. In the "Vienna Museum," sold at Messrs. Christie's Rooms, March 1860, was a *chef*

<sup>1</sup> William of Malmesbury, ii, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Mandeville, cap. vii.

<sup>3</sup> See D'Agincourt's *History of Art by its Monuments*, ii, p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> *Cent. Mag.*, Nov. 1842, p. 494.

described as "a bust of St. Ursula, in silver-gilt, for a reliquary, with coronet and collar of enamel set with coloured stones," and which in all probability once held a fragment of the supposed skull of the Cornish princess. Several saintly skulls adorned with crowns, mitres, etc., sparkling with gems, and placed on embroidered cushions resting on altar-like reliquaries, were exhibited in the Cathedral of Augsburg; and a woodcut of one of which is given in Hone's *Every Day Book* (ii, 1073), "the *Caput Sancti Adalderonis*," decked with a richly set mitre, and the lower portion of the facial bones covered with a jeweled muzzle. In the Great Armoury, near the high altar of Canterbury Cathedral, were long preserved the skulls of St. Austroberta, the virgin; St. Blasius, bishop of Sebaste in Armenia; and St. Fursæus, the abbot, in silver-gilt *chefs*.<sup>1</sup> In the British Museum is a twelfth century *chef* which once held the head, or a portion of the head, of the Roman general St. Eustace, the story of whose conversion to the Christian faith bears a certain likeness to the legend of St. Hubert. This beautiful reliquary is composed of wood overlaid with plates of silver partly gilt; the forehead being adorned with a bandeau set with paste and stones, among which are two antique gems. The neck is mortised into a square plinth, the sides of which are ornamented with an arcade, within which are little effigies of the twelve apostles in embossed silver. This choice piece of work was formerly in the treasury of the Cathedral of Basle, and sold with the rest of the church property in 1834; and was, on Oct. 25th, 1848, exhibited at a meeting of our Association. In the South Kensington Museum is a very fine *chef* of gilt metal, representing a venerable, bearded personage, upon the top of whose forehead is set an *adularia*, or "moonstone," covering the letters s+i, indicative of St. Januarius, bishop of Benevento, whose relics it once held. This curious shrine was obtained from the Monastery of St. Gall, in Switzerland, and is considered to be of the commencement of the sixteenth century.

Although frequent mention is made of silver-gilt *chefs*, it may fairly be asked if many of them were not really of baser metal silvered or gilded over, like the reliquary of St. Januarius just referred to? Mr. J. W. Baily possesses a highly interesting *chef* of fine latten repoussé-work, finished with

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix to Dart's *History of Canterbury Cathedral*.



the graver, and plated with silver, which in its palmy days must have presented a splendid appearance, and formed a most attractive object amid the treasures of some wealthy church. (See Plate 16.) This curious reliquary is about eighteen inches in height, and fifteen inches wide at the base. The head is fully as large as life, and rests on a bust of rather small proportions, to which it has been secured by a strip of latten on either side, and little rivets through the edge of the neck and hair. It was in all probability intended for the "true portraiture" of some holy personage who flourished during the first ages of Christianity, for the crown is not shorn in the manner of a mediæval ecclesiastic, but is thickly covered with wavy locks which conceal the ears, and fall as low as the nape of the neck, and rest upon the shoulders. The eyes are large, with staring pupils, having the lashes and brows carefully developed. The forehead is rather low and wrinkled, the nose inclines to the aquiline, the mouth somewhat wide, and the lips prominent. The mustache does not cross the upper lip, but descends from either nostril, reaching the short beard which borders the cheeks, and divides into two little volutes at the chin. The bust is clothed in a mantle, the upper part of the front of which is thrown back so as to display an under vest. The base is surrounded by a band about one inch and eight-tenths broad, with a pearled edge above and wired hem beneath, and decorated with thirty-two bosses enclosed in a quilled guilloche pattern. Just above the wired hem, in front, is a small perforation; and three similar ones are at back, no doubt to admit the pegs or nails employed in fixing the reliquary to some kind of stand. Such are the main points to describe in this most curious and valuable shrine, which we can but regret does not possess the vocal powers of the brazen head wrought by Roger Bacon, so that it could relate its history, tell us whom it represents, and whose reputed cranium it once contained. In the opinion of some this *chef* bears resemblance to the features of our Saviour; but we must not forget that, according to tradition, St. James the Less was so like his divine kinsman, that the Roman soldiers would not have known which of the twain to seize, had not the traitor Judas betrayed his Blessed Master with a kiss. So that this head may possibly have been designed for that of the pious Bishop of Jerusalem, though as yet I





have failed in tracing any of his relics to this country. Little more can now be said respecting the interesting object in question, than that it cannot be assigned to a later period than the beginning of the sixteenth century; and that it was discovered at a considerable depth, enveloped in black mud, when excavating for a new wharf on the premises of Messrs. Oliver, near the London Docks, Wapping, in March 1870. We may safely conclude that it sank into its oozy bed at a time when the Thames had a wider flow than it at present has; that is, before the accession of Queen Elizabeth, during whose reign Wapping was reclaimed from the river, and converted into dry land. At no very considerable distance from Wapping stood two famous religious houses,—to wit, St. Katharine's, founded by Maud, wife of King Stephen; and Grace or New Abbey, so highly favoured by King Edward III. The reliquary may have been stolen from one of these sacred edifices, and dropped by the robber in the very spot where it was found last March; or it may have been dislodged at the time of the Reformation, when so many reputed saintly relics were tumbled about without ceremony, and their cases lost or destroyed.

Having dwelt thus long upon the *chef*, we must hasten to the consideration of a few reliquaries of different forms, which, though of much smaller size than the foregoing, can hardly be rated as of inferior interest.

Occasionally, as previously hinted, reliquaries were contrived in, or fixed to, articles of divers sorts for the adornment of the person, the service of the Church, etc. The reliquary I now have the pleasure to produce has been the terminal ornament of some kind of official staff, possibly a royal sceptre; for we see not only on the early *sceattas*, but on the money of the later Teutonic monarchs, sceptres surmounted by crosses, with balls at their extremities: indeed, the verge held by Edward the Confessor has a simple orb at its head. This singularly rare specimen is wrought of copper, and may be described as a hollow globe, full an inch and a half diameter; the sides consisting of seven vesica-shaped frames, and the upper part of an open Greek cross; the whole surface of the metal thickly decorated with boss-ets; and beneath is a broken tube, nearly five-eighths of an inch diameter, to fit on to a stem, to which it was secured by a transverse pin, the aperture for which is about three-

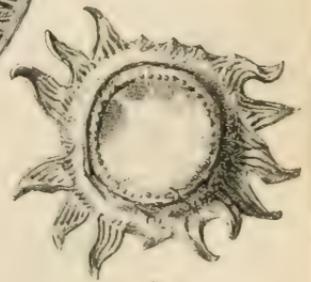
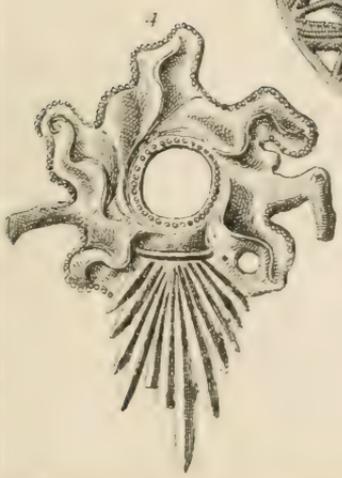
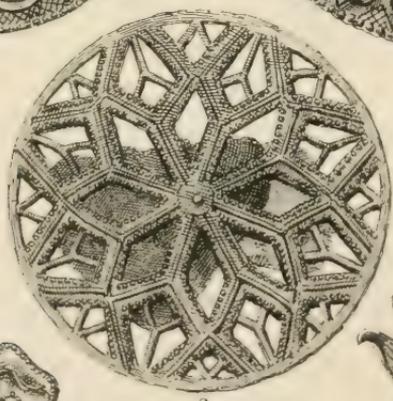
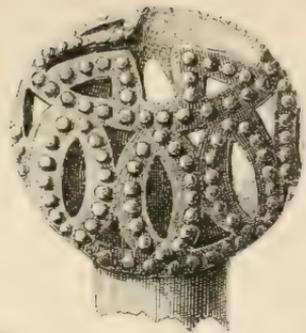
sixteenths of an inch diameter. (See Pl. 17, fig. 1.) This curious little orb was evidently perforated for the display of an enclosed relic; and though it may seem presumptuous to offer a conjecture as to its nature, I cannot help thinking that the presence of the cross indicates that the receptacle was designed to hold a piece of the *lignum crucis*, some of which had reached England as early as the ninth century. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle states, *sub anno* 883, that "Marinus, the Pope, then sent *lignum Domini* to King Alfrid"; and Asser, in his life of this sovereign, speaks of the gift as "no small portion of the holy and venerable cross on which our Lord Jesus Christ was suspended."<sup>1</sup>

The reliquary under consideration was recovered from the Thames in June 1850; and though I know not where to point to its fellow, there is an object in the Copenhagen Museum which throws much light on its date. That to which I allude was found in the barrow of the famous Thyre Danebod, wife of Gormo the Old, king of Denmark, who died in the early part of the tenth century, and was buried at Jellinge in Jutland. It is a metal plate, the ornamental motives being a cross formed of two vesica-shaped frames with the intersecting portions perforated with a Greek cross, with a pellet in each quarter.<sup>2</sup> There is such a close resemblance in the treatment of the Jutland and London articles, that I doubt not that they are both of the same era, and were wrought for a similar purpose,—the conservation and exhibition of sacred relics connected with the martyrdom of our Lord.

The next reliquary claiming notice is the property of Mr. J. W. Baily, and was exhumed at Brooks' Wharf, Upper Thames-street, Jan. 1868. (See Pl. 17, fig. 2.) This example is of the utmost rarity and interest. It is a neatly executed

<sup>1</sup> In olden times portions of the *lignum crucis* were deemed of sufficient value for monarchs to present as marks of special favour and friendship. The Emperor Theodosius gave the greater part of the "true cross" to St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, and this the Huns thought fit to burn. A piece of the "true cross" was sent by the Empress Irene to Charlemagne, who wore it as a talisman, enclosed in an emerald attached to a gold chain. When the tomb of the Emperor, at Aix-la-Chapelle, was opened, this relic was found suspended round his neck. The burghers of the city presented it to Napoleon in 1811, and he afterwards gave it to Queen Hortense. Bits of wood reputed to have formed part of the Saviour's cross are still occasionally to be seen, as, for instance, in the point of intersection of the limbs of the magnificent Cross of Cong, made at Roscommon *circa* 1128.

<sup>2</sup> See Worsaae's *Afbildninger*, 2nd ed., pl. 115, fig. 477.





casting, in hard pewter, nearly two inches in diameter, and from its circular form may have been denominated *rota*; for that this title was applied to a reliquary of the same shape, is evident from the legend on the specimen formerly belonging to St. Paul's Cathedral, described and engraved in our *Journal* (iii, 16). The details of the reliquary before us are highly curious. One face of the frame or border surrounding the central subject is decorated with fourteen devices, a little like Gothic Ms; but are really fleurs-de-lis, such as spring from the umbo of the cross on the coins of Harold II. On the reverse face of this frame is a meander of Norman character. Within the frame are two warriors, *vis à vis*, habited in tegulated armour, equipped with broadswords, and the one whose head is perfect wears a nasal helmet. This *chapelle de fer*, the hauberk of square plates, the formidable weapons, nay, the very *pose* of the figures, as also the ornamentation on the borders, one and all proclaim this precious object to be the work of the second half of the eleventh century. Two questions demand solution respecting this reliquary, viz., what was it intended to contain? And who are the knights who form the sole motive of the design? These two queries are, to my mind, so intimately blended, that an answer to one involves a reply to the other. I make no doubt that the two effigies represent the guards who watched the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, and consequently that the case held some relic connected with the crucifixion or entombment of the Saviour, which was secured in the rim, on the reverse, and viewed through the open spaces between the figures. There is a rather puzzling object dividing these two soldiers. It has been pronounced a lamp, a spear, a flower; and without deciding the matter I would call attention to the fact that a tree occupies a similar place on the *Sepulchrum Domini* in Northwold Church, Norfolk.<sup>1</sup>

Among the few types of pewter reliquaries yielded up by the Thames, one presents a singular likeness to some of the old pomander-cases, being a spheroid of more or less elaborate tracery, of superior workmanship, and referrible to the end of the fourteenth or early part of the fifteenth century. Remains of at least ten examples of this kind of reliquary have been found in London; one of the most perfect being

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal*, xix, p. 146.

in the collection of the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, and which contains portions of the shells of Gales or Galicia (*Pecten Jacobæus*) that were wont to be worn by pilgrims in honour of St. James of Compostella. (Pl. 17, fig. 3.)

In one of the pilgrims' tombs at Llanfihangel-aber-Cowin, Carmarthenshire, opened in 1838, were found six scallop-shells, proving that such testaceous relics were valued among us as far back as the twelfth or thirteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

Though the scallop-shell is the accepted sign of Santiago, Sir Walter Raleigh seemed to consider it as the badge of pilgrims in general, and assumed *previous* to their starting on their peregrinations :

“ Give me my scallop-shell of quiet,  
My staff of faith to walk upon ;  
My scrip of joy, immortal diet ;  
My bottle of salvation ;  
My gown of glory (hope's true gage),  
And then I'll take my pilgrimage.”

To the dawn of the fifteenth century may be assigned a pretty little pewter reliquary exhumed in Moorfields, and now in the cabinet of Mr. J. Cato. (Pl. 17, fig. 4.) It represents the Star of Bethlehem, and doubtlessly once held some object supposed to be connected with the Nativity ; for that there were relics reputed to be connected with the advent of the Redeemer, is shown by the fact that formerly a fragment of the manger was to be seen among the choice items in Canterbury Cathedral ;<sup>2</sup> and in 1729 the Baron de Pollnitz was shown, in the church of St. Laurence at Nuremberg, “ a part of the manger in which our Saviour was laid.”<sup>3</sup> The entire manger of our Lord is still the pride and boast of the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem. But the recollection of these precious relics must not draw us away from our curious reliquary, which is in form of a flamboyant *étoile* of five rays, with a round aperture in the middle for the exhibition of the valued object, whatever it may have been ; and beneath it is a gush of light, like the beard of a comet. Light descending from the Bethlehemite meteor towards the Divine Infant is frequently seen in early

<sup>1</sup> See *Gent. Mag.*, Feb. 1839, p. 114, where the shells are erroneously called cockles.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix to Dart's *History of Canterbury Cathedral*.

<sup>3</sup> See *Memoirs of Baron de Pollnitz*, London, 1745, i, p. 205.

pictures of the Nativity: at first, of a long narrow wedge-shape, afterwards spreading in rays, as in Mr. Cato's reliquary.

Mr. Baily brings before us a little reliquary of late fifteenth or early sixteenth century work, representing either the star of Bethlehem with sixteen flamboyant rays, or more probably the upper part of a monstrance; and if the latter, it may have once held a portion of the Host. (See Pl. 17, fig. 5.) Like the foregoing example, it is of pewter, with a circular opening in the centre filled with a plate of glass, the iridescent hues on the surface of which are very beautiful. The metal disc at back has on it the emblems of the Passion, and sacred letters I.H.S. This reliquary, like so many other religious baubles, was exhumed from the river-bank at Brooks' Wharf, Upper Thames-street, in 1866.

We now arrive at the latest and most ornate reliquary in the present series. It is about five inches and a half diameter, and rather more than an inch in thickness, consisting of a rich circular frame of elaborate filigrane work, of fine, flattened brass wire, with a pane of glass on each side and a suspending loop at top. The interior is divided into five recesses, the large oval one in the middle being filled with the consecrated wafer denominated *Agnus Dei*; the four lesser cordiformed compartments, with relics, being arranged at equal distances around the centre; the intervening spaces being occupied by flowers wrought of silver-wire, coloured silks, spangles, and glass beads. The *Agnus Dei*, of white wax, has an obverse and reverse like a medal; the Holy Lamb, nimbed and supporting the banner of the cross, being on one side; the other having on it the demi-figure of the Virgin Mother, crowned and nimbed, holding the child Jesus in her arms, who also wears a crown. The legends accompanying these subjects are too indistinct to be read with certainty.<sup>1</sup> The relics are all from hallowed spots in Palestine, each having a little label attached indicating its locality. Those on the same side as the Holy Lamb are thus designated: 1, "*De Deserto St. Sabe*" (the Desert of St. Saba); 2, "*Ubi M<sup>a</sup> visitavit Elisabet*" (where Mary visited Eliza-

<sup>1</sup> For a highly interesting account of the *Agnus Dei*, see *Memoirs of Baron de Pollnitz*, ii, p. 234. This waxen wafer is forbidden to be brought into England under pain of incurring a *præmonire*, 13 Eliz., cap. ii. See Blackstone's *Commentaries*, ed. 1809, iv, p. 115. A silver reliquary of late fifteenth or early sixteenth century work, bearing the effigy of the Holy Lamb, and which once may have held an *Agnus Dei*, is given in this *Journal*, xviii, p. 397.

beth); 3, "*De Deserto St. Joanis*" (the Desert of St. John); 4, "*De Probativa Piscina*" (the Pool of Bethesda).<sup>1</sup> The following are the relics encircling the Virgin and Child: 1, "*Ubi fleuit super Jerusalem*" (where Christ wept over Jerusalem); 2, "*De Fonte B. M. V.*" (the Fountain of the Blessed Virgin Mary); 3, "*Ubi latuit B. V. M. Betlem*" (where the Blessed Virgin Mary was concealed at Bethlehem); 4, "*Ubi obiit B. V.*" (where the Blessed Virgin died).

Though the foregoing relics are from Asia, and the *Agnus Dei* from Rome, the reliquary is certainly of French manufacture; but the only part of its pedigree that I can relate, is that it, along with a number of other religious matters, was thrown into a dust-bin by a Roman Catholic gentleman named Harding, previous to his quitting his London dwelling to take up his abode in Devonshire; and that it was afterwards picked out of the refuse of grate and kitchen, and given to me as a plaything when I was a very little child, together with a portion of another but much smaller French reliquary, with three empty receptacles formed of gilt-edged card covered with glass, set in a frame of wire filigrane.

In glancing over the group of reliquaries which form the subject of the present communication, we cannot fail of being struck by their novelty of type, and the peculiar interest investing each example. On no former occasion have we had so many specimens submitted for inspection at one time; nor any of an age equal to that of the globose head of the staff, or the circular case with the sepulchral guard, belonging respectively to the tenth and eleventh centuries. And if our latest reliquary be of no great antiquity, its interest is fully sustained by its contents,—fragments gathered from spots rendered for ever sacred by the events thereat enacted; and which, after a lapse of upwards of eighteen centuries, are still of vital import, and must ever so continue, even when time itself shall merge into eternity.

<sup>1</sup> See Sir John Mandeville, cap. viii.

## ON THE DATE OF FOUNDATION ASCRIBED TO THE CISTERTIAN ABBEYS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

BY W. DE G. BIRCH, ESQ.

To fix the date of foundation of the Monasteries and Religious Orders with any degree of accuracy, is as interesting as it is difficult. The monasteries of the Cistercian order, than which none attained a higher position in the ecclesiastical history of Europe, whether for devotion, scientific attainment, or riches, have nearly all of them a cloud of obscurity hanging over the exact time of their institution. In a miscellaneous collection of tracts among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum, there exists a list of the various abbeys of this order throughout the world, arranged in a chronological series, and in most cases referring to the actual day of incorporation of the abbeys into the ranks of the Cistercians. This list is divided into two portions: the first extends from A.D. 1098, in which year the foundation of Cîteaux is placed, under the 12th of the kalends of April, to A.D. 1190. This portion is finely written, in a clear French hand of the early part of the thirteenth century. The latter portion of the list carries the series on from the year A.D. 1191 to A.D. 1234, where it concludes somewhat abruptly. This concluding portion is written in a French hand of the latter end of the thirteenth century.

A glance at this list, which is here printed, I believe, for the first time, will show the year, and in most cases the day of the foundation, or entry into the Cistercian order, of many abbeys of Great Britain, whose origin has been until now involved in great chronological doubt. There is every reason to suppose that the lists were compiled from the archives of Cîteaux itself, because the actual date of so many and such distant abbeys could not have been procured from any other source in those days. The opening sentence seems also, by its peculiar wording, to favour this view. At the same time discrepancies certainly do exist between the dates assigned in this list and those in chronicles and annals of a contemporary period. These dates here given must be at least taken into consideration, for what they are worth, in



attempting to determine the foundation of Cistercian abbeys. But with the exception of a solitary reference in Archdale's *Monasticon Hibernicum*, treating of the Abbey at Derry, this MS. does not appear to have ever been made use of by the historians of religious orders, at least as far as Great Britain is concerned. The following is the text of the MS., the British houses being distinguished by an asterisk.

"MS. Cotton., Faustina B. vii, fol. 36. Anno ab Incarnuacione domini mxcviii, xij kalendis Aprilis fundata est Abbatia Cisterciensis, et inferius nomina seriatim ceterarum Abbatiarum et tempus primæ fundationis earum. Unde et legentibus clarius elucescit quam multiplex fructus tam de capite quam de membris Deo procurante processit.

Anno mxciii, xv kal. Junii facta est Abbatia De firmitate

mxciii, Abbatia Pontiniaci

mxcv, Abbatia Clarevallis

Eodem die et anno, Abbatia Morimundi

Savigniaciensi Cenobio post morimundum locus est proximus assignatus

mxcviii, Abbatia de tribus fontibus

xv kal. Septembris, Abbatia Prulliacensis

ij kal. Maij, Abbatia De Curia Dei

mxcix.

v Idus Julij . . .	Abbatia Bonæ Vallis
v Kal. Novembris . . .	„ Boni Radii
iii Kal. Novembris . . .	„ de Fonteneto
xj Kal. Aprilis . . .	„ Bonæ Vallis
ii Idus Novembris . . .	„ Mansiadæ

mcxx.

xv Kal. Novembris . . .	Abbatia de Civitatula
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mcxxj.

viii Kal. Maii . . .	Abbatia Balonensis
iii Kal. Julii . . .	„ de Elemosina
xviii Kal. Octobris . . .	„ de Oratorio
v Idus Julii . . .	„ de Fusneio

mcxxij.

ij Kal. Februarii . . .	Abbatia de Campo
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mcxxiiij.

x Kal. Maii . . .	Abbatia de Bulio
ij Kal. Julii . . .	„ de Crista
xij Kal. Aprilis . . .	„ Locedii

Anno mcxxiiij.

xij Kal. Augusti . . .	Abbatia Runensis
xviii Kal. Decembris . . .	„ de Jocaco
viii Kal. Aprilis . . .	„ de Lucela
ii Kal. . . . .	„ Fontis Johannis

Sequenti anno nulla.

mcxxvj.

Idus Aprilis . . .	Abbatia Montis Petrosi
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mcxxvij.

iii Idus Marcii . . .	Abbatia Igniaci
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vij Idus Junii . . . . .	Abbatia Caladiæ
	„ Eberacensis
	*Abbatia de Furnesio
	mcxxvij.
vij Idus Septembris . . . . .	Abbatia Regniaci
Kal. Novembris . . . . .	„ de Belbec
Eodem die . . . . .	„ de Sarnay
xij Kal. Februarii . . . . .	„ Walkenred
	mcxxix.
vij Idus Maii . . . . .	Abbatia Loci-Regii
v Kal. Octobris . . . . .	„ Vallis Lucentis
v. Kal. Novembris . . . . .	*Abbatia Waverleia
	„ Calocerij
iiij Idus Novembris . . . . .	„ Ursi Campi
	mcxxx.
vij Kal. Augusti . . . . .	Abbatia de Fulcardimonte
	„ de Reuna
iiij Idus Septembris . . . . .	„ de Pura Silva
Kal. Marci . . . . .	„ Sancti Andreae de Gustrier
xij Kal. Aprilis . . . . .	„ de Buxeria
	mcxxxj.
vij Idus Maii . . . . .	*Abbatia de Tinterna
xv Kal. Julii . . . . .	Abbatia Cari Loci
	„ de Novo Castro
Mense Julio . . . . .	„ de Buxeria Andegavis
xij Kal. Augusti . . . . .	„ de Relech
xj Kal. Augusti . . . . .	„ de Escharleis
Nonis Septembris . . . . .	„ de Muratorio
	„ Sancti Andreae Januensis
	„ Boni Montis
vij Kal. Octobris . . . . .	„ Wolcodirotelh
iiij Nonis Marci . . . . .	„ Longi Pontis
Eodem die et anno . . . . .	*Abbatia Rievallis
vij Idus Marci . . . . .	Abbatia de Aurea Valle
vij Kal. Aprilis . . . . .	„ de Theoloco
Eodem anno . . . . .	„ de Meleroses
	mcxxxij.
vj Kal. Junii . . . . .	Abbatia de Sancto Benedicto
iiij Nonis Junii . . . . .	„ de Claro Fonte
vj Kal. Januarii . . . . .	*Abbatia de Fontibus
vij Kal. Augusti . . . . .	Abbatia de Vacellis
xv Kal. Novembris . . . . .	„ Sancti Loci
v Idus Novembris . . . . .	„ de Porta
Eodem Anno . . . . .	„ Sancti Johannis de Tharoca
xv Kal. Decembris . . . . .	„ de Roseriis
vij Idus Decembris . . . . .	„ de Maceriis
Kal. Januarij . . . . .	„ de Villari
ij Nonis Januarii . . . . .	„ de Vallibus
	mcxxxij.
ix Kal. Maij . . . . .	Abbatia Sancti Supplicij
Eodem die . . . . .	„ Sancti Quiriaci
iiij Idus Septembris . . . . .	„ de Sancta Cruce
v Kal. Novembris . . . . .	*Abbatia de Geroldona

iiij Idus Novembris . . .	*Abbatia de Cumbermara
vij Idus Decembris . . .	Abbatia de Caritate
iiij Nonis Januarii . . .	„ Halesbronensis
vij Idus Marcii . . .	„ de Claustro
	„ de Lanheim
	mcxxxiiij.
iiij Idus Januarii . . .	*Abbatia de Kelder
Kal. Februarii . . .	Abbatia de Hoilanda
iiij Idus Marcii . . .	„ Belli Prati
iiij Kal. Maii . . .	„ de Bethania
xj Kal. Junii . . .	„ de Ponte Oltrammi
x Kal. Junii . . .	„ Vallis Claræ
iiij Kal. Augusti . . .	„ de Bergue
	„ de Coronato
iiij Kal. Octobris . . .	„ de Walsason
Eodem die . . .	„ de Cesaria
iiij Idus Novembris . . .	„ de Fontanis in Turon'
iiij Kal. Decembris . . .	„ Loci Crescentis
	mcxxxv.
Idus Februarii . . .	Abbatia de Everbach
xviiij Kal. Marcii . . .	„ de Stamedij
viiij Kal. Aprilis . . .	„ Signiaci
viiij Kal. Aprilis . . .	„ de Longo Villari
Kal. Aprilis . . .	*Abbatia de Malros
v Nonis Maij . . .	*Abbatia de Forda
xviiij Kal. Julij . . .	Abbatia de Alta Cumba. C.
xvj Kal. Julij . . .	„ de Buzaio
Mense Julio . . .	„ Situensis
xj Kal. Augusti . . .	„ Claræ Vallis
viiij Kal. Augusti . . .	*Abbatia de Strafford
vj Idus Augusti . . .	*Abbatia de Bildewas
iiij Kal. Septembris . . .	Abbatia Bellæ Aquæ
Mense Octobri . . .	„ Fossæ Novæ
Mense Octobri . . .	„ de Fontanis
xij Kal. Decembris . . .	„ in Amelugesburne
iiij Kal. Decembris . . .	„ de Prato
	mcxxxvj.
v Idus Januarii . . .	Abbatia Kari Loci
ij Nonis Februarii . . .	„ de Alberipa
Nonis Februarii . . .	„ de Rupibus
Mense Aprili . . .	„ Salvaniensis
xviiij Kal. Maii . . .	„ Acineti
	„ de Florentia
v Kal. Maij . . .	*Abbatia de Bucscestia
iiij Kal. Junii, susceperunt Alpenses ordinem Cisterciensem	
xij Kal. Julij . . .	Abbatia de Langenio
ij Kal. Julij . . .	„ de Balerna
xvj Kal. Septembris . . .	„ Vallis Sanctæ Mariæ
iiij Kal. Octobris, adjunctum est Landenense cenobium ordinis	
v Kal. Novembris . . .	Abbatia de Domo Dei
Kal. Novembris . . .	„ de Mortuo Mari
vj Idus Decembris . . .	*Abbatia de Sartis
	Abbatia de Boquinham

			mexxxvij.
v Nonis Maij . . . . .		Abbatia de Columba	
vij Kal. Julij . . . . .		„ de Alto Fonte	
vj Kal. Julij . . . . .		„ Aquæ Bellæ	
		„ de Brollio	
		*Abbatia de Coqueshale	
xj Kal. Augusti . . . . .		*Abbatia de Thama	
x Kal. Septembris . . . . .		Abbatia Fontis Leonnæ	
ijj Kal. Septembris . . . . .		„ de Bella Aqua in Averna	
ij idus Octobris . . . . .		„ de Scala Dei	
xj Kal. Novembris . . . . .		„ Belli Doni	
vj Kal. Novembris . . . . .		„ Berdonas	
iiij idus Novembris . . . . .		„ Boni Fontis	
			mexxxviiij.
Nonis Januarii . . . . .		*Abbatia Novi Monasterii	
iiij Nonis Februarii . . . . .		Abbatia de Sancto Albino	
v Kal. Marcij . . . . .		„ de Alta Ripa	
xvj Kal. Aprilis . . . . .		„ de Barzelle	
Idus Maii . . . . .		„ de Aurora	
Eodem die . . . . .		„ de Salem	
ij Kal. Junii . . . . .		*Abbatia de Dunis	
		Abbatia de Molebrunne	
iiij Kal. Julij . . . . .		„ Callovii	
Mense Julio . . . . .		„ de Bello Loco	
Eodem Mense . . . . .		„ de Launias	
x Kal. Decembris . . . . .		*Abbatia de Bordesleia	
Kal. Decembris . . . . .		Abbatia de Briostel	
v Kal. Januarii . . . . .		„ de Zutela	
		„ de Silvaria	
x Kal. Januarii . . . . .		*Abbatia de Beelanda	
ijj Kal. Octobris . . . . .		Abbatia de Benedictione Dei	
			mexxxxix.
iiij Nonis Februarii . . . . .		*Abbatia de Kirkested	
Eodem die . . . . .		*Abbatia de Parco Lude	
iiij Nonis Februarii . . . . .		Abbatia de Clara Silva	
vij Kal. Aprilis . . . . .		„ de Gratia Dei	
vij Kal. Septembris . . . . .		*Abbatia de Kingeswede	
ij idus Septembris . . . . .		Abbatia Balantiarum	
xij Kal. Januarii . . . . .		„ de Campo	
			mexl.
ij Nonis Aprilis . . . . .		Abbatia de Casa Marii	
		„ de Prato Benedicto	
		„ de Obazine	
v idus Aprilis . . . . .		„ de Ripatorio	
vij Kal. Junii . . . . .		„ de Alta Silva	
iiij idus Augusti . . . . .		„ de Cheremon	
Kal. Maij . . . . .		„ de Claro Maresco	
iiij Kal. Septembris . . . . .		„ de Veteri Villa	
Eodem die . . . . .		„ de Ceseriaco	
Kal. Novembris . . . . .		*Abbatia de Nebothle	
iiij Nonis Novembris . . . . .		Abbatia Domus Dei in Pertico	
			mexlj.
xij Kal. Aprilis . . . . .		Abbatia de Sacramenia	

			Abbatia de Pinu
			„ Montis Sancti Georgij
			„ de Fonte Vivo
vij idus Aprilis . . .			„ de Bulencuit
Nonis Maij . . .			„ de Sichem
vj idus Januarii . . .			„ de Recluso
xij Kal. Septembris . . .			„ de Boeriis
vij Kal. Novembris . . .			„ de Bono Loco
iiij idus Novembris . . .			„ Cari Campi
ij Kal. Decembris . . .			„ de Cliente
			mexlij.
ij idus Martii . . .			Abbatia de Alticresto
			„ de Superaddo
iiij Nonis Maij * . . .			„ de Vivo Fonte
			„ de Bungarteng'
viiij Kal. Julij . . .			„ de Hersuethusan
x Kal. Augusti . . .			„ de Brundrem'
			„ de Chaleta
			mexliij.
iiij Kal. Julij . . .			Abbatia de Meluno
			„ de Spina
			„ de Alcubatia
			„ de Sozeda
xv Kal. Maij . . .			„ Sturtebrimerij
v idus Augusti . . .			„ de Sancto Laurentio
			*Abbatia de Aqua Frigida
			Abbatia de Meym
Mense Octobri . . .			„ de Valeta
Eodem die . . .			„ de Bona Aqua
iiij Kal. Januarii . . .			„ Victoriensis. CC.
			mexliiij.
xiiij Kal. Februarii . . .			Abbatia de Oliveto
			„ de Sconaugia
			„ Gemundi
			*Abbatia de Strata
iiij Kal. Junij . . .			Abbatia Monasterij in Argon'
Mense Julio . . .			„ de Francheval
iiij idus Octobris . . .			„ de Hermado
			„ de Grandi Silva
vi Kal. Novembris . . .			„ de Ratenhaselac
			mexlv.
v Nonis Marcij . . .			*Abbatia Fontis Frigidi
ij idus Maij . . .			*Abbatia Woburne
vj Kal. Julij . . .			Abbatia de Persenia
iiij Nonis Julij . . .			„ Pontrucensis
vj Kal. Augusti . . .			„ Trizagii
v Kal. Augusti . . .			„ de Melerio
iiij Kal. Octobris . . .			„ de Platensis
v idus Novembris . . .			„ de Pratea
			„ de Ridageshusen
			mexlvj.
viiij Kal. Junii . . .			Abbatia de Herswith
			„ de Fulna

Kal. Junii . . . . .	Abbatia de Alteribac
vij Kal. Julij . . . . .	„ Columna
iiij Kal. Julij . . . . .	„ de Riddagshec
vij idus Julij . . . . .	„ de Lisa Norwagia
vij Kal. Augusti . . . . .	„ Sancti Justi
ij Kal. Octobris . . . . .	„ Hylaria
	„ de Villari in Episcopatu Leodin'
v Kal. Novembris . . . . .	*Abbatia de Boxleia
	Abbatia de Castaneola
	„ de Zedelic'
	mexlvij.
Kal. Januarii . . . . .	*Abbatia de Sallia
	Abbatia Silvæ Canæ
Idus Marcij . . . . .	„ de Sequanæ Portu
	„ de Alba
xv Kal. Junii . . . . .	„ de Howdereia in Norwagia
xiiij Kal. Junii . . . . .	*Abbatia de Kirkestal
	Abbatia Lapis Sancti Michaelis
x Kal. Junii . . . . .	*Abbatia Vallis Dei
viiij Kal. Julij . . . . .	Abbatia de Valle Richerij
	„ de Alna
vj idus Julii . . . . .	*Abbatia de Brueria
iiij idus Julij . . . . .	*Abbatia de Ruford
	Abbatia de Bedesdum
iiij Kal. Augusti . . . . .	*Abbatia de Rupe
ij Kal. Augusti . . . . .	*Abbatia de Salterea
	*Abbatia Margan
	*Abbatia de Bullione
v Kal. Novembris . . . . .	Abbatia de Kaerio
	mexlviiij.
vij Kal. Maii . . . . .	Abbatia de Varamus
vj idus Maij . . . . .	„ de Bongard
	„ de Burnebac
Kal. Augusti . . . . .	„ de Ellanth
Kal. Augusti . . . . .	„ Camberonæ
v Kal. Novembris . . . . .	„ de Utristal
	„ de Sinaqua
	mexlix.
xv Kal. Marcii . . . . .	Abbatia Vallis Regis
vj Nonis Marcii . . . . .	„ de Bulencurt
	„ de Turribus Sardinia
iiij Nonis Marcii . . . . .	„ de Longovado
Mense Aprili . . . . .	„ Fontis Morigen'
	„ de Tirimel
viiij Kal. Maii . . . . .	*Abbatia de Sibetona
iiij idus Junii . . . . .	Abbatia de Alba Petra
Eodem die . . . . .	„ de Petris
	mel.
v Kal. Januarii . . . . .	Abbatia de Insula Sanctæ Mariæ
	„ de Bolbone
viiij idus Marcii . . . . .	*Abbatia de Joravalle
iiij Kal. Julii . . . . .	Abbatia Casæ Novæ

			Abbatia Portaglovii
iiij idus Septembris	.	.	„ de Eunaus
xj Kal. Decembris	.	.	„ de Custodia Dei
			„ Vallis Magnæ
			mcij.
xj Kal. Augusti	.	.	Abbatia Pontis Alti
			„ Clari Loci
xj Kal. Octobris	.	.	*Abbatia de Blanca Landa
			Abbatia de Parignac
Kal. Junii	.	.	*Abbatia de Holcultram
v Kal. Octobris	.	.	Abbatia de Misericordia Dei
			*Abbatia de Kinlos
xvj Kal. Septembris	.	.	Abbatia de Campania
vj Kal. Julii	.	.	*Abbatia de Cumba
ij Kal. Octobris	.	.	Abbatia de Frameda
xvj Kal. Junii	.	.	„ de Juncheria
			Abbatia de Claro Monte
xviiij Kal. Octobris	.	.	„ de Cambonio
xv Kal. Novembris	.	.	„ Bonæ Vallis Ruticensis
vj Kal. Augusti	.	.	„ de Bella Brancha
xviiij Kal. Junii	.	.	„ de Lande
iiij Kal. Septembris	.	.	„ Gratia Dei
xviiij Kal. Junii	.	.	„ de Los
			mclij.
Idus Augusti	.	.	Abbatia de Petrosa
vij idus Septembris	.	.	„ de Castellione
vj idus Septembris	.	.	„ de Moris
x Kal. Octobris	.	.	*Abbatia de Tiletia
			mcliij.
xiiij Kal. Julii	.	.	Abbatia de Voto
			mciv. Nulla.
			mcvj.
Mense Maio	.	.	Abbatia de Re
			mcviij.
ij idus Februarii	.	.	Abbatia Bilhildehusen
iiij Kal. Junii	.	.	„ Belli Montis
			„ Spetiosæ Vallis
vij idus Septembris	.	.	„ de Morolia
			mcviiij.
iiij Nonis Aprilis	.	.	Abbatia Vitæ Scola
			„ Tinnibach
iiiiij idus Maii	.	.	*Abbatia de Pultona
			mclix. Nulla.
			mcix.
			Abbatia Sabutiæ
			mcxj.
			Abbatia de Salvatione
			mcxij.
xix Kal. Augusti	.	.	Abbatia Tutæ Vallis
			„ de Armentaria
Kal. Augusti	.	.	„ de Ripenstein
			„ de Risu Agni
Kal. Novembris	.	.	„ Cassania
ij Nonis Novembris	.	.	„ Palatij Sanctæ Mariæ

		mclxiiij.
Kal. Junii	.	Abbatia de Iuka
		mclxviiij.
Kal. Junii	.	*Abbatia de Straflur
ij Kal. Octobris	.	Abbatia Sancti Andreæ
		mclxv.
iiij Kal. Martii	.	Abbatia de Karam'
Kal. Maij	.	„ de Dorbereln
Mense Septembri	.	„ de Claro Campo
		mclxvj.
		Abbatia de Monterami
Mense Novembri	.	„ de Grosso Bosco
		„ Bonæ Cumbæ
		mclxviiij.
viiij idus Martii	.	Abbatia de Charineia
		mclxviiij.
xiiij Kal. Augusti	.	Abbatia Dulcis Vallis
		„ Sancti Leonardi
		mclxix.
Kal. Marcii	.	Abbatia Doberam
		„ Vallis Honestæ
		„ Sancti Johannis
		mclxxx.
iiij Kal. Februarii	.	Abbatia Saltus Novalis
		mclxxj.
		Abbatia de Monte Oliveti
		„ Nucharie
vj Kal. Julij	.	Abbatia de Insula Dei
		mclxxiiij.
Kal. Maii	.	Abbatia de Bona Requite
		„ de Monte Sanctæ Mariæ
viiij Kal. Junii	.	„ de Baliezes
vj Kal. Julij	.	„ de Insula Dei in Phion'
vj idus Julij	.	*Abbatia de Pola
iiij idus Novembris	.	Abbatia Loci Benedicti
		mclxxiiij.
ix Kal. Julij	.	Abbatia de Sancto Spiritu
		„ Coraccij
xj Kal. Septembris	.	„ de Ulmeto
iiij idus Decembris	.	„ de Loco Dei
		mclxxiiiij.
Mense Maio	.	Abbatia Vallis Sancti Laurentii
Mense Septembri	.	„ Turris Aquilaris
		mclxxv.
Kal. Novembris	.	Abbatia Jalinda
		„ Cellæ Sanctæ Mariæ
Kal. Januarii	.	„ de Thosan
		mclxxvj.
Idus Aprilis	.	Abbatia de Barbereio
iiij Kal. Aprilis	.	*Abbatia de Ponte Roberti
		Abbatia de Moach
Kal. Augusti	.	„ Longæ Vallis
vj idus Septembris	.	„ Gradicensis



		Abbatia Vallis Viridis
Kal. Maij . . . . .	..	Vallis Ecclesiarum
Mense Novembri . . . . .	..	de Armor
		mclxxviiij.
xiiij Kal. Junij . . . . .	..	Abbatia Vallis Sanctæ Mariæ
vj Kal. Junii . . . . .	..	Sancti Adriani
		mclxxix. Nulla.
		mclxxx.
xij Kal. Februarii . . . . .	..	Abbatia de Ripa Alta
xj Kal. Augusti . . . . .	..	*Abbatia de Carlion
		mclxxxj.
Idus Decembris . . . . .	..	Abbatia de Sacra Cella
		mclxxxij. Nulla.
		mclxxxiiij. Nulla.
		mclxxxiiiij.
viiij idus Septembris . . . . .	..	Abbatia Vallis Benedictæ
vj Kal. Junii . . . . .	..	de Pelisio
Nonis Octobris . . . . .	..	Dulesburch
		mclxxxv.
iiij Kal. Julij . . . . .	..	Abbatia de Capella
		de Oya
		mclxxxvj.
ij idus Junii . . . . .	..	*Abbatia de Aberconuy
		mclxxxvij. Nulla.
		mclxxxviiij.
		Abbatia de Scala in Tuscia
		mexc.
iiiij Nonis Marcij . . . . .	..	Abbatia Boni Portus
		Summa abbatiarum, cccxlviij.

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mxcxj, kal. Maij . . . . .	..	Abbatia de Seccia
Eodem anno . . . . .	..	de Pastubus in Hungaria
Eodem anno, ix kal. Augusti . . . . .	..	de Huluesti
Eodem anno, viij kal. Augusti . . . . .	..	de Salaga
Eodem anno, xvj kal. Novembris . . . . .	..	Gratiæ Sanctæ Mariæ
Eodem anno, xij kal. Aprilis . . . . .	..	de Orzech
Eodem anno . . . . .	..	de Domo Sanctæ Mariæ
mxcxij, ij idus Maij . . . . .	..	de Ruz
Eodem anno, Nonis Junij . . . . .	..	Sancti Bernardi
Eodem anno, iiiij idus Augusti . . . . .	..	de Binic
Eodem anno et die . . . . .	..	Vallis Sancti Egidii
Eodem anno, xij kal. Februarii . . . . .	..	*Abbatia de Valle Lucis
Eodem anno . . . . .	..	Abbatia Gudholm'
Eodem anno . . . . .	..	Floridi Campi
mxcxiij, viij kal. Septembris . . . . .	..	*Abbatia de Jugo Dei in Hibernia
mxcxiij . . . . .	..	Abbatia de Asilo
Eodem anno . . . . .	..	Sancti Galgani
mxcxiij ( <i>sic</i> ) . . . . .	..	*Abbatia de Petra Fertili
Eodem anno . . . . .	..	Abbatia de Casa Nova
Eodem anno . . . . .	..	de Sancto Urbano
Eodem anno . . . . .	..	de Oliva
Eodem anno, v kal. Octobris . . . . .	..	de Galeso in Apulia

mexcvj, vij kal. Maij . . . . .	*Abbatia de Wiresdale
mexcvij, vij kal. Septembris . . . . .	Abbatia de Monte Sanctæ Mariæ
Eodem anno . . . . .	„ de Ponte
Eodem anno . . . . .	„ de Aqua Formosa
Eodem anno . . . . .	„ de Arnesburgh'
Eodem anno, iij Nonis Maii . . . . .	„ Montis Sanctæ Mariæ in hu'
mexcvij, vij kal. Aprilis . . . . .	„ Vallis Lucidæ
Eodem anno, vj kal. Julii . . . . .	„ de Valle Florida Cliv'
Eodem anno . . . . .	„ Vallis Dei in Hispania
Eodem anno . . . . .	*Abbatia de Kemer in Scotia
mexcix, kal. Julii . . . . .	Abbatia de Bordelare
Eodem anno, viij kal. Februarii . . . . .	„ de Camer
mec, vj kal. Octobris . . . . .	„ de Voto
Eodem anno, Idus Januarii . . . . .	„ de Aurea Insula
Eodem anno, v kal. Februarii . . . . .	*Abbatia de Valle Crucis
Eodem anno . . . . .	Abbatia de Flumine Dei
mccj, xvij kal. Septembris . . . . .	*Abbatia de Dunkeswelle
Eodem anno . . . . .	Abbatia de Ripa Alta
Eodem anno . . . . .	„ Brollij Gelandi
Eodem anno . . . . .	„ de Monte Fero
mccij, viij kal. Aprilis . . . . .	„ Villæ Novæ de Buzacio
Eodem anno, ij idus Martii . . . . .	„ de Leliemild'
Eodem anno . . . . .	„ de Sagittario
Eodem anno . . . . .	„ de Kerz
mccij, vj kal. Martii . . . . .	„ de Aqua Longa
mcciiij, xvij kal. Junij . . . . .	*Abbatia de Bello Loco in Anglia
Eodem anno, iij kal. Augusti . . . . .	*Abbatia de Valle Sancti Salvatoris in Hibernia
Eodem anno, iij Nonis Augusti . . . . .	Abbatia Fontis Danielis
Eodem anno . . . . .	„ Sancti Christofori
mccv, x kal. Octobris . . . . .	„ de Pardul' in Sard'
Eodem anno, iij idus Novembris . . . . .	„ de Wellegrad
Eodem anno, xj kal. Aprilis . . . . .	*Abbatia de Wethen
Eodem anno . . . . .	Abbatia de Rota Matura in Sicilia
mccvj . . . . .	Abbatia Sancti Thomæ in Venetia
Eodem anno, iij idus Marcii . . . . .	„ de Campo Liliorum
Eodem anno . . . . .	„ Montis Feri
mccvij, viij kal. Aprilis . . . . .	„ de Tuta Insula in Norwagia
mccvij, idus Augusti . . . . .	„ de Teplis
Eodem anno, Nonis Januarii . . . . .	„ de Arbona Reatin'
Eodem anno, iij kal. Augusti . . . . .	„ Dunemunde
mccix . . . . .	*Abbatia Arincampi in Hibernia
mccx . . . . .	Abbatia de Bordona
Eodem anno . . . . .	„ de Dargon
mccxj . . . . .	„ Sanctæ Mariæ de Caritate in Apulia
mccxij . . . . .	*Abbatia de Medneham
Eodem anno . . . . .	Abbatia de Arcu Sanctæ Mariæ in Sicilia
Eodem anno . . . . .	„ de Alta Ripa
mccxiiij, ij kal. Octobris . . . . .	„ de Escamp in Arragonia
mccxiiij, vij kal. Aprilis . . . . .	*Abbatia de Greman in Hibernia
Eodem anno et die . . . . .	Abbatia de Grevard

Eodem anno . . . . .	Abbatia de Granat
Eodem anno, v kal. Julij . . . . .	„ Sanctæ Mariæ de Curziaco
Eodem anno, xij kal. Octobris . . . . .	„ Sancti Georgii de Jubino
Eodem anno, xvij kal. Decembris . . . . .	„ Sancti Angeli
Eodem anno, vj kal. Januarii . . . . .	„ de Sancto Lauro in Grecia
Eodem anno . . . . .	„ de Sancta Cruce in Hungaria
mccxiv, iij kal. Septembris . . . . .	„ de Loco Sanctæ Mariæ
Eodem anno, iij idus Novembris . . . . .	„ de Bodelo
Eodem anno, iij kal. Decembris . . . . .	„ Sancti Spiritus in Apulia
mccxvj, v kal. Martii . . . . .	„ de Sancto Servatio
mccxvij . . . . .	Abbatia <sup>1</sup>
mccxviiij, vj kal. Martii . . . . .	*Abbatia de Dere in Hibernia
Eodem anno . . . . .	Abbatia Sancti Mathei de Reatina
Eodem anno . . . . .	„ de Vazga
mccxix . . . . .	*Abbatia de Der
Eodem anno . . . . .	Abbatia de Hultune
mccxx . . . . .	„ de Canonica
mccxxj . . . . .	„ Sancti Pauli
mccxxij . . . . .	„ de Clara Cumba
mccxxiij . . . . .	„ Sanctæ Mariæ in Scipp'
Eodem anno . . . . .	„ Fontis Clari
mccxxiiij, ij kal. Martii . . . . .	„ de Lavescen'
Eodem anno . . . . .	*Abbatia de Albo Tractu
Eodem anno, viij kal. Martii . . . . .	Abbatia de Siracusano
Eodem anno . . . . .	*Abbatia de Crectotren in Hibernia
mccxxv . . . . .	Abbatia de Ruphiniario
mccxxvj . . . . .	*Abbatia Graciæ Dei in Anglia
Eodem anno . . . . .	Abbatia de Henricone in Polonia
Eodem anno . . . . .	*Abbatia de Sancto Edwardo in Scocia
mccxxvij . . . . .	Abbatia de Regali Monte
Eodem anno . . . . .	„ de Cena
Eodem anno . . . . .	„ de Lubend
mccxxvij . . . . .	„ de Sancto Edwardo
mccxxix, vj idus Julii . . . . .	„ Sanctæ Trinitatis de Brund'
Eodem anno, viij kal. Aprilis . . . . .	„ de Pietate Dei
mccxxx, iij kal. Julii . . . . .	„ de Planiiis
Eodem anno, kal. Martii . . . . .	„ de Cava
Eodem anno, viij Kal. Augusti . . . . .	„ de Valentia
mccxxxj . . . . .	„ Sancti Stephani de Cornu
Eodem anno . . . . .	„ de Grandi Prato
mccxxxij . . . . .	„ Vallis Honestæ
Eodem anno . . . . .	„ Trium Fontium in Hungaria
mccxxxiiij . . . . .	„ Novi Campi
Eodem anno . . . . .	„ Fontis Sanctæ Mariæ
mccxxxiiij . . . . .	„ Sancti Augustini de Monte Alto
Eodem anno . . . . .	„ Sancti Salvatoris Montis Acuti
Eodem anno . . . . .	„ de Walkana
Eodem anno . . . . .	„ de Barno
Eodem anno . . . . .	„ de Belefons in Hungaria

<sup>1</sup> Left thus in MS.

In the following list of Cistercian houses in Great Britain, with foundation-dates as hitherto fixed, I have incorporated all that are mentioned in Dugdale and Archdale.<sup>1</sup> The list would, no doubt, bear revision; but is, to the best of my belief, the first of the kind hitherto attempted. We may take one or two instances to illustrate the bearing of this new and independent evidence upon the history of the Cistercian order. It is well known that a long and bitter struggle for supremacy, on the score of priority, existed between the abbeys of Waverley and Furness. After being duly considered by the General Chapter, the solution of the difficulty was thought worthy to be introduced into many exemplars of the statutes of the order. Accordingly we find in a statute book: "Questio prioratus inter Abbatem de Waverle, et Abbatem de Furnesio terminatur hoc modo: videlicet, quod Abbas de Furnesio habeat prioratum in tota generacione Elemosinæ in Anglia [tantum] et in generacione Saviniac' in Anglia tantum. Abbas autem de Waverle habeat prioratum ubique, tam in congregationibus abbatum quæ fuerint per Angliam, quam alias per ordinem univversum."<sup>2</sup> The Cottonian list distinctly awards the seniority to Furness, whose entry into the order dates from 1127; that of Waverley being set down as having happened on the fifth of the kalends of November, 1129,—that is, 28 October, a date not at all agreeing with that mentioned in the annals of the monastery itself, 24 November, 1128.<sup>3</sup>

Another example, perhaps of a more satisfactory nature, is afforded by Beaulieu Abbey, which is stated in the Annals of Louth Park, or Parco Lude, to have taken place in A.D. 1201. Matthew Paris assigns the date of A.D. 1205 to this occurrence. The Chronicle of St. Benediet, Hulme, gives A.D. 1204; a date followed also by the Chronicle of Hayles and Aberonway in these words,—“A.D. MCCIV. Fundatur Abbatia de Bello Loco per Regem Johannem, ad quem locum, circa festum Penthecosten, venit conventus cum proprio abbate de Cistercio.” Now the Feast of Pentecost, or Whit-

<sup>1</sup> Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*; Archdale, *Monasticon Hibernicum*. Readers may peruse with profit the *Histoire Monastique d'Irlande*, by Louis Augustin Allemand; Bishop Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*; Laing's *Scottish Seals*, supplementary volume; and *Fragmenta Scoto-Monastica*, by W. B. D. D. Turnbull.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Harl. 948, f. 51. Cf. also *Annals of Waverley*, ed. Luard, ii, p. 311. This is under the year 1232.

<sup>3</sup> *Annals of Waverley*, ed. Luard, ii, p. 221.

Sunday, in the year 1204, fell on the 13th of June; and this date is borne out in a remarkable manner by the date assigned to this abbey in the Cottonian list, namely the 16th of the kalends of June, 1204, that is the 17th of May, 1204; the whole error only amounting to twenty-seven days. Instances of this kind might be multiplied; but a greater space would be required than I venture to take up. It is sufficient for me to say that this list is deserving of the attention of future monastic historians.

- Furness, co. Lanc., founded A.D. 1124, at Tulket; removed in A.D. 1127 to Bekangesgil, or Furness
- Waverley, co. Surr., founded 24 Nov. A.D. 1128
- Tintern, co. Monm., founded A.D. 1131
- Rievall, co. York, founded A.D. 1131
- Fountains, co. York, founded A.D. 1127 or 1132
- Basingwerk, co. Flint, founded A.D. 1131 or 1132
- Quarrieria, or Quarr, Isle of Wight, founded A.D. 1132 or 1133
- Garendon, co. Leic., founded 5 kal. Nov. 1133
- Calder, co. Cumberl., founded A.D. 1129 or 1134
- Combermere, co. Ches., founded A.D. 1133 or 1134
- Russin or Ryshen, Isle of Man, founded in A.D. 1098; embraced the rule, A.D. 1134
- Buildewas, co. Salop, founded A.D. 1135
- Wardon, or De Sartis, co. Bedf., founded A.D. 1135
- Keldholm, Kildenholt, Keldon, Duna, or Dona, Priory for women, co. York, founded *temp.* Henry I
- Neath, or Nethe, co. Glamorg., founded *temp.* Henry I
- Melros, co. Roxburgh, founded A.D. 1136
- Buckfastleigh, Buckfastre, or Buckfestre, co. Devon., founded A.D. 1137
- Newminster, co. Northumb., founded *circ.* A.D. 1137
- Tama, or Thame, co. Oxf., founded A.D. 1137 or 1138
- Bordesley, co. Worc., founded *circ.* A.D. 1138
- Louth Park, or De Parco Lude, co. Linc., founded *circ.* A.D. 1139
- Kirkstead, co. Linc., founded A.D. 1139
- Kingswood, co. Wilt., founded A.D. 1139
- Dublin, Abbey of St. Mary, embraced the rule A.D. 1139
- Stratford Langthorne, co. Essex, founded A.D. 1134, 35, or 40
- Newbottle, in Mid Lothian, founded A.D. 1140
- Ford, co. Devon, founded A.D. 1136, at Brightley, and at Ford in A.D. 1141
- Coggeshall, or Coxhall, co. Essex, founded A.D. 1137, 40, 41, or 42
- Dundrennan, or Dundraynan, in Galloway, founded in A.D. 1142
- Mellifont, co. Louth, founded A.D. 1142
- Pipewell, or Sancta Maria de Divisis, co. Northt., founded A.D. 1140, 41, or 43
- Revesby, co. Linc., founded A.D. 1142 or 1143
- Bella Landa, or Byland, co. York, founded A.D. 1143
- Combehire, Comchere, or Cumhyre, co. Radn., founded A.D. 1143
- Alba Landa, Blanca Landa, or Whiteland, co. Carmarth., founded A.D. 1143 or *temp.* William I (?)
- Woburn, co. Bedf., founded A.D. 1145

- Boxley, co. Kent, founded A.D. 1144 or 1146  
 Saltrey, or Sawtrey, co. Kent, founded 1146 or 1147  
 Bitlesden, co. Buck., founded A.D. 1147  
 De Valle Dei, or Vaudey, co. Linc., founded *circ.* 1147  
 Brueria, or Bruerne, co. Oxf., founded A.D. 1147  
 De Rupe, or Roche, co. York, founded A.D. 1147  
 Swineshed, co. Linc., founded A.D. 1134 or 1148  
 Rufford, Ruchford, Rutherford, or Rumford, co. Notts., founded A.D. 1146 or 1148  
 De Mira Valle, or Mereval, co. Warw., founded A.D. 1148  
 Salley, Sawley, or De Monte Sancti Andreae, co. York, founded A.D. 1146, 47, or 49  
 Holm-Cultram, co. Cumberl., founded A.D. 1150  
 Sibton, co. Suff., founded A.D. 1149 or 1150  
 Cumba, or Combe, co. Warw., founded A.D. 1149 or 1150  
 Kinloss, in Morayshire, founded A.D. 1150  
 Melsa, or Meaux, co. York, founded A.D. 1150  
 Margan, co. Glamorg., founded A.D. 1146, 47, or 51  
 Monasternenagh, Nenay, Maig, or De Magio, co. Limerick, founded A.D. 1148 or 1151  
 Baltinglass, or De Valle Salutis, co. Wickl., founded A.D. 1148 or 1151  
 Bectiff, or De Beatitudine, co. Meath, founded A.D. 1146 or 1152  
 Kirkstall, co. York, founded A.D. 1147, at Barnoldeswick; removed to Kirkstall A.D. 1152  
 Tiltey, co. Essex, founded A.D. 1152 or 1153  
 Greenfield Priory, co. Linc., founded before A.D. 1153  
 Eccles Nunnery, in Berwick, founded before A.D. 1153  
 Wyckham Nunnery, co. York, founded *circ.* A.D. 1153  
 Stanley, co. Wilts., founded A.D. 1151 at Lockeswell; removed to Stanley A.D. 1154  
 Stoneley, or Stanley, in Arderne, co. Warw., founded A.D. 1154  
 Flexley, or Dene, co. Glouc., founded *temp.* Henry I or Stephen  
 Nun-Coton, or Cotham Nunnery, co. Linc., founded *circ.* A.D. 1129, or *temp.* Henry I or Stephen  
 Dore, co. Heref., founded *temp.* Stephen  
 Stykeswold, or Styxwold Nunnery, co. Linc., founded *temp.* Stephen  
 Swina, Swine, or Swinhey, co. York, founded *temp.* Stephen  
 Nun-Appleton, co. York, founded towards the close of Stephen's reign  
 Jervaux, Joreval, or Gervis, co. York, founded A.D. 1145 at Fors, and styled Wandesleydale, or De Caritate; removed, A.D. 1156, to Jervaux  
 Manuel Nunnery, co. Stirling, founded A.D. 1156  
 Downpatrick, co. Down, founded in the thirteenth century  
 Codenham Nunnery, co. York. No date assigned. *Qy.* early Henry II.  
 Sinningthwaite, co. York, founded *circ.* A.D. 1160  
 Coldstream, co. Berwick, founded *circ.* A.D. 1160, or *temp.* David I  
 Boyle, De Buellio, Buello, or Buellensis, co. Roscommon, founded 16 Aug. 1148, at Grelacdinach; then successively removed to Drumconaid, to Buinfinny, and A.D. 1161 to Boyle.<sup>1</sup>  
 Basedale, Wasedale, Hoton, or Nun-Thorp, co. York, founded *circ.* A.D. 1162

<sup>1</sup> Vide Annales ejusd. abb., MS. Cotton., Titus A, xxv, f. 21 b. "Primo incept esse apud Grellet daiae; secundo apud Drum Conaid; tertio apud Buinfinni; quarto apud Buellium."



- Saundell, in Cantire, founded *circ.* A.D. 1163  
 Cupar-Angus, co. Forfar, founded A.D. 1164  
 Stratmargel, Ystrat Marchel, Strata Marcella, Alba Domus de Strat-  
 margel, De Valle Crucis, or Pola, co. Montgom., founded A.D. 1170  
 Hanepole, or Hanpole, co. York, founded *circ.* A.D. 1170  
 Hamele, or Hamelrise, co. Hants, alien priory founded *temp.* Henry de  
 Blois, Bishop of Winchester, A.D. 1129-71  
 Maure, or Clear Spring, at Carigiliky, co. Cork, founded A.D. 1169 or 72  
 Moycoscain, Moycosquin, or Clear Spring, co. Derry, founded A.D. 1172  
 Eschewolde, Essold, Esseholt, or Esholt, co. York, of doubtful date,  
 perhaps A.D. 1172  
 Bindon, co. Dors., founded A.D. 1172  
 Newry, De Viridi Ligno, Jubhar-Chin, Traigh, or Monasterium Nevo-  
 racense, co. Down, founded between A.D. 1148 and 1173  
 Long Benyngton, co. Linc., alien priory, founded before A.D. 1175  
 Robert's Bridge, De Ponte Roberti, or Rotherbridge, co. Suss., founded  
 A.D. 1176  
 Stanlaw, co. Ches., founded A.D. 1172 or 1178; removed to Whalley,  
 co. Lanc., A.D. 1296  
 Haddington, St. Mary's Nunnery, founded A.D. 1178  
 Astrath, Ashro, Easroe, Easruadh, or De Samario, co. Donegal, founded  
 in A.D. 1178  
 Rossglass, De Rosea Valle, or St. Ewin's, co. Kildare, embraced the  
 rule in A.D. 1178  
 Dunbrody, or Port of St. Mary, co. Wexford, founded in A.D. 1178  
 Crokesden, or Croxden, co. Staff., founded A.D. 1176 at Chotes; removed  
 to Crokesden A.D. 1179 (erroneously stated by some 1189)  
 Stratfleur, Strata Florida, or Ystradflret, co. Cardigan, founded A.D.  
 1164 or 1180  
 Iniscourcey, co. Down, founded 3rd June, 1180  
 Middletown, Caste ni Chora, St. Mary of Chore, or the Chore of St.  
 Benedict, co. Cork, founded A.D. 1180  
 Jerpoint, co. Kilkenny, founded A.D. 1180  
 Heyninges, or Heveninges Nunnery, co. Linc., founded *circ.* A.D. 1180  
 Holy Cross, or De Sancta Cruce, co. Tipperary; no date assigned, but  
 before A.D. 1182  
 Abbey Leix, or De Lege Dei, Queen's County, founded A.D. 1183  
 Gokwell, or Goykewelle, co. Linc., founded before A.D. 1185  
 Aberconway, or Conway, co. Carnarv., founded A.D. 1185 or 1186;  
 transferred to Maynan, co. Denb., A.D. 1283  
 Cliffe, or Clyve, co. Somers., founded before A.D. 1188  
 Abbey Feal, co. Limerick, founded A.D. 1188  
 Ellerton-on-Swale Nunnery, co. York, founded *temp.* Henry II  
 Sewardesley Nunnery, co. Northt., founded *temp.* Henry II  
 Kuthales, Kirklees, or Kirklegthes Nunnery, co. York, founded *temp.*  
 Henry II  
 Limbergh Magna, co. Linc., alien priory, founded *temp.* Henry II  
 Fieldallyng, co. Norf., alien priory, founded *temp.* Henry II  
 Abbey Knockmoy, or Hill of Victory, co. Galway, founded A.D. 1189 or 1190  
 Glenucc, or Vallis Lucis, co. Galway, founded *circ.* A.D. 1190  
 Vallis Caulium, in Scotland, founded A.D. 1193  
 Coreumroe, or Abbey of the Fruitful Rock, co. Clare, founded A.D. 1194  
 Hilfothuir, co. Donegal, founded A.D. 1194

- Kilshane, or Kilsonna, co. Limerick, founded A.D. 1198  
 Tarent, Tarrant, or Kaines, co. Dors., founded *temp.* Richard I  
 Rosedale or Russedale Nunnery, co. York, founded *temp.* Richard I ;  
 but it is uncertain whether Benedictine or Cistercian  
 Brewood, Byrwoodde, or Bruwerne Nunnery, co. Salop, founded *temp.*  
 Richard I or John  
 Lekeburn, or Legborn, co. Line., occurs A.D. 1150 at Karledale, Ked-  
 ington, and Halington ; removed to Lekeburn before 1 John (1199-  
 1200)  
 Kilcooly, co. Tipperary, founded A.D. 1200 ; according to some, 1200  
 Kilbeggan, co. Westmeath, founded A.D. 1200  
 Llanegwast, or De Valle Crucis, co. Denbigh, founded *circa.* A.D. 1200  
 Winteneye Nunnery, co. Hants., not founded before A.D. 1200  
 Dunkeswell, co. Devon, founded A.D. 1201  
 Scardeburgh, or Scarborough, co. York, an alien cell founded before  
 the 4th of John, A.D. 1202  
 Beaulieu, Bewley, or De Bello Loco, co. Hamp., founded A.D. 1201, 4, 5  
 Abington, Owney, Wotheney, Wethencia, Whethran, Wethenoya, or  
 Voghney, co. Limerick, founded A.D. 1205  
 Lerha, near Granard, co. Longford, founded A.D. 1205  
 Kinner, or Kemmer, co. Merion. ; no date assigned, but perhaps founded  
 A.D. 1209  
 Medmenham, co. Buck., founded A.D. 1200, 1204, 1212  
 Abbey of the Vale of St. Saviour, Graignemanagh, or Duisk, co. Kil-  
 kenny, first foundation, A.D. 1202 ; second, A.D. 1212  
 Dieulacres, co. Staff., founded A.D. 1153 at Pulton ; removed to Dieu-  
 lacres A.D. 1214  
 Andewell, or Enedwell, co. Hants ; and St. Cross, Isle of Wight, alien  
 priory cells in existence before A.D. 1216  
 Athlone, or De Innocentia, co. Roscommon ; no date assigned, prob-  
 ably before A.D. 1216  
 North Berwick Nunnery, in East Lothian, founded A.D. 1216  
 Culros, co. Clackmannan, founded A.D. 1217  
 Dere, or Deer, co. Aberdeen, founded A.D. 1218, 19  
 Derry Nunnery, co. Derry, founded A.D. 1218  
 Tintern, co. Wexford ; no date assigned, but before A.D. 1219  
 Hilton, or Hulton, co. Staff., founded A.D. 1219 or 1223  
 Tracton, De Albo Tractu, co. Cork, founded A.D. 1224  
 Fermoy, co. Cork ; no date assigned, but before A.D. 1226  
 Grace-Dieu, De Gratia Dei, Trody, or Stow, founded A.D. 1226 or 1229  
 Balmerino, or St. Edward's, in Fifeshire, founded 13th Dec. A.D. 1229  
 Ardchattan, co. Argyle, founded A.D. 1230  
 Llanlunan Nunnery, co. Montgom., founded before A.D. 1239  
 Netley, Letteley, De Loco Sancti Edwardi, or Edwardstow, co. Hamp.,  
 founded in A.D. 1239  
 Hayles, or Tray, co. Glouc., founded A.D. 1240 or 1246  
 Newenham, co. Devon, founded A.D. 1241 or 1246  
 Marham-Barbara Nunnery, co. Norf., founded A.D. 1249  
 Sweetheart, Dulcis Cordia, or New Abbey, co. Galloway, founded in  
 the thirteenth century (A.D. 1275, *in* Adam de Cardonel)  
 Cokchill Nunnery, co. Wore., founded *temp.* Richard I, or A.D. 1260  
 Whitton, or Wyttestane Nunnery, co. Wore., founded between A.D. 1250  
 and 1266

Hore Abbey, co. Tipperary ; Cistertians introduced A.D. 1269 or 1272  
 Buckland, or Bockland, co. Devon, founded A.D. 1278  
 De Regali Loco, or Rewley, co. Oxf., founded *circ.* A.D. 1280  
 Vale Royal, De Valle Regali, co. Ches., founded A.D. 1266 or 1273 at  
 Dernhale ; removed to Vale Royal, A.D. 1281  
 St. Leonard's Nunnery, Perth, founded before A.D. 1296  
 St. Mary Graces, Eastminster, or New Abbey, near London, founded  
 A.D. 1349  
 St. Bernard's College, Oxford, founded A.D. 1437.

The following are those to which no date has been even approximately assigned by their respective historians :

Horewell, *cell*, co. Warwick  
 Bleatarn, *cell*, co. Westmorland  
 Clynnock-Vaur, co. Caernarvon  
 Pendar, co. Radnor  
 Caerleon, or Caeruske, co. Monmouth  
 Llantarnam, co. Monmouth  
 Edinburgh Nunnery  
 Beaully, co. Ross  
 Elcho, co. Perth  
 St. Leonard's, near Perth, co. Perth  
 Pluscardine, co. Moray, Scotland  
 Abbey Mahon, co. Cork ; sometimes confounded with that De Sancto  
 Mauro, or De Fonte Vivo  
 Inchrie, co. Cork  
 Downpatrick Nunnery, co. Down  
 Mowntown, or Monkstown, co. Dublin (?)  
 Portumna, co. Galway  
 Abbey Shrule, Shroole, Srowell, Shrowl, Srohile, or Sruth, co. Longford  
 Mothel, co. Waterford (?)

Stevens, in his continuation of the *Monasticon* (vol. ii, p. 35), giving a catalogue of all the Cistertian houses in England, to which royal protection was afforded by Edward I, mentions the following, which appear of uncertain origin : Hickestal, Rickwal, Rockland, Metham, Gerwedon, Bivedon (? Bindon).

By the kindness of the Rev. H. O. Coxe, Librarian, I am enabled to print an unique table of the Cistertian houses from MS. Digby, xi, fo. 17, in the Bodleian Library :

HÆC SUNT nomina Abathiarum ordinis Cistercii in Anglia :

Wauerlye prima, Tinterne soror ejus,—hæ filia Elemosinae  
 Gerenedune, Forde, Cumbe, Thama,—filia Wauerlye  
 Bordesleye, Butlesdene, Bruere,—filia Gerenedune  
 Mireval, Stoneleye in Arderne, Flexele,—filia Bordesleye  
 Dunckwelle, Kingsdune,—filia Forde  
 Kingewude,—filia Tinterne  
 Beaulu—filia Cistercii

Nateley, Heyles, Newenham,—filie Beaula  
 Boxele, Fonteinnes, Rievallis,—filie Clarevallis  
 Pons Roberti,—filia Boxele  
 Novum Monasterium, Woburne, Kirkestede, Parc'lud', Vallis Dei, Melsa,  
 Kirkestal,—filie Fontis  
 Salleye, Roche, Pippewelle,—filie Novi Monasterii  
 Medmeham,—filia Wuburne  
 Wardune, Riuesbi, Rouford,—filie Wardon  
 Clive,—filia Riuesbi  
 Forneis, Beilande, Crumbemare, Quarraria, Bildewas, Bucfestre, Strat-  
 ford, Koggeshale,—filie Sauvigni  
 Filie de Furneise,—Quadrei [Caldre], Swinesheued  
 Filia Bellalande,—Gervaus  
 Filia Quarraria,—Stanleghe in Wiltes.

## ON ROYAL VISITORS AND BENEFACTORS OF ST. ALBAN'S ABBEY,

AND ON THE SHRINE OF ST. ALBAN AND THE  
 ABBEY RELICS.

BY HENRY F. HOLT, ESQ.

THE points of interest connected with the ancient Abbey of St. Alban's are so numerous, and important, as to account fully for the exceptional attention which has been bestowed upon them during the present congress by the members of the Association, by whose care its architectural beauties, the zealous encouragement given in the Abbey to printing whilst in its earliest infancy, its literary history, its legends, its popular tumults, and other subjects connected with its locality, have in turn been presented to your notice. Believing, however, that no account of the glories of the far-famed monastery would be complete which omitted a passing glance at the records left us by Matthew Paris and Walsingham, of its royal benefactors and visitors, I purpose attempting that duty, and to shortly pass in review before you such of the "sayings and doings" of England's monarchs relating to the Abbey, as will best convey to you the interest and encouragement almost continuously evinced by royalty in favour of the monastery, from its foundation until its dissolution. Limiting myself to that particular object, I forbear to trouble you with any reference to the motives or circumstances which led to the foundation of the Abbey, its privileges, its prosperity, or its

decadence ; but, assuming you to be acquainted with those subjects, I will at once commence the particular historical account to which I have alluded ; and, by way of introduction, observe—that, from the time of Offa, the founder, to Edward the Confessor, and from him to Hardicanute and Harold, the Conqueror, and his son Rufus, all our English kings seem to have ranked in the annals of the monastery as its benefactors. It is not, however, until we arrive at Henry I, that we are able to obtain reliable information ; and it is, therefore, with the reign of that monarch I propose to commence those details of regal favour and munificence to the Abbey, which were maintained (although occasionally capriciously exercised) by the majority of the sovereigns of England, until the reign of Henry VIII. Christmas, in the year 1115, was long celebrated in the annals of the Abbey, and marked a proud epoch during the twenty-one years “Richard de Albany”, or “D’Aubeny” of Normandy, ruled as fifteenth Abbot of St. Alban’s. Paul, his predecessor, had, at a vast expense, commenced, in 1077, repairing the Abbey Church and its adjacent buildings, the bakehouse and millhouse alone excepted ; and those repairs were carried out on so extensive a scale as practically to amount to an entire reconstruction. It was not, however, reserved for Paul to witness the completion of this good work, as upon his decease in 1093, its progress was interrupted, and remained so for four years, during which period William Rufus possessed himself of the revenues of the Abbey, cut down and sold its timber, and extorted money from its tenants. To add to the general confusion, a violent discussion for the supremacy arose between the English and Norman inmates of the Abbey, which, however, was fortunately brought to a close in 1097, when Richard, who stood high in the king’s favour, was elected abbot. On Henry’s accession, four years later, the rebuilding of the Abbey Church was still proceeding ; and it was not until about 1114, or the beginning of the following year, that the edifice was so far completed as to be fit for public worship. Its solemn dedication having been determined on, the consecration was appointed to be held on the following Christmas-day, with all the pomp and ceremony so important an event demanded. In order that nothing should be wanting to add honour to the event, Henry promised to grace the meeting

with his royal presence, and that of his beloved and popular queen, Matilda of Scotland. Accordingly, on the day appointed, their Majesties made their entry into St. Alban's in great state, attended by a numerous and distinguished suite, including the *élite* of the earls, barons, and nobles, both of England and Normandy, and were received at the outer gate of the monastery by Richard the Abbot, attended by his distinguished guests, the Archbishop of Rouen, the Bishops of London, Durham, Lincoln, and Salisbury, together with the abbots of the principal monasteries in the kingdom, and a host of inferior clergy. The royal couple were then ushered, with due ceremony, to the seats of honour specially prepared for them, consisting of the primitive stone bench, which then formed the thrones of the Anglo-Saxon royalty, and on which had been placed a scarlet cushion, in the form of a wool-pack, figured with gold leaves, and having tassels of gold and scarlet at each corner, and behind it a piece of figured cloth. On Christmas-day, the ceremony of consecrating the magnificent fabric was celebrated by the Archbishop, aided by the other dignitaries of the Church, in the presence of their majesties and the assembled multitude. The royal stay was prolonged until the feast of the Epiphany (January 6th), during which period the most splendid hospitality was offered to all the Abbot's distinguished guests; such as could not be properly accommodated within the walls of the monastery being taken care of, and entertained in the town at the expense of the Abbot.

In order to mark his satisfaction with the reception he had met with, Henry gave to the Abbey Church, and confirmed to it by grant the manor of Bishopscoate, and also conferred on the Abbot the civil privileges of the hundred of Caisho, by terming it the "Liberty of St. Alban's", and giving him the power and authority therein, which usually appertained to the king. In like manner, Matilda, described (by Florence of Worcester) as the "very mirror of piety, humility, and princely bounty", with Henry's approval, presented to the Abbey, by charter, two manors, which donation was thus noted by the monks: "Queen Matilda gave us Bellwick and Lilleburn." It is to this visit we owe the production of the miniature likeness of this royal benefactress, then taken by one of the limners of the Abbey, and

afterwards, in the early part of the fourteenth century, copied into the "golden register of St. Alban's", which still exists, and is now to be found in the British Museum (Cottonian MSS., Nero D.), and is a sort of conventual album, wherein were entered the portraits of all the benefactors of the Abbey, together with an abstract of their donations. In that miniature the Queen appears in the costume she doubtless wore at the consecration of the Abbey, and is attired in a royal mantle of scarlet lined with white fur. It covers the knees, and is very large. The mantle is square to the bust. A cordon of scarlet and gold, with a large tassel, passes through two gold knobs; she holds the cordon in her right hand, and wears a light kirtle of dark blue, buttoned down the front with gold. The sleeves fit close to the arms, and are scarlet, like the mantle. A white veil is arranged in a square form on the brow; it is surmounted by a gold crown, formed of three large trefoils, and gold orsillettes appear beneath the veil on each side of the cheeks; the veil flows behind her shoulders with lappets. Her Majesty is represented as being very fair in complexion, with a long throat and elegant form of tall proportion. She displays with her left hand the charter she gave the Abbey, from which hangs a very large red seal, whereon, without doubt, was impressed her effigy in grand relief. In less than three years afterwards, the royal lady expired (in the absence of her husband, who was in France), "passionately lamented by every class of the people, to whom her virtues and wisdom had rendered her inexpressibly dear."

The next visit of royalty to the monastery was that of the handsome and conceited Stephen, who, having occasion to pass through St. Alban's in 1152, was honourably entertained at the monastery by Robert of Caen, who, two years before, had been elected by unanimous consent the eighteenth Abbot. This unexpected and solitary visit of the king was eagerly seized upon by the Abbot as an opportunity not to be lost, in attempting to rid the monastery of a nuisance from which it had long suffered, owing to certain persons having ensconced themselves in the remains of the neighbouring royal mansion, called "Kingsbury", and who, under the pretence of the king's authority to keep the peace and guard the tower, were the cause of great disturbances, injuries, and extortions. Accordingly,

taking advantage of his majesty's attendance at mass, the Abbot, at the conclusion of the ceremony, fell at his royal feet, and, presenting to his notice some relics of his namesake, St. Stephen, the first martyr (which had been expressly withdrawn, for the occasion, from the Abbey stores), he implored him, in the name of the saint, that he would cause the said Kingsbury to be demolished; whereupon the king, not daring to refuse a request invoked in so sacred a name, at once gave the house and remains to the Abbot, who, availing himself of the power thereby vested in him, immediately after the departure of the king, caused the building to be razed to the ground, and thus effectually gave a quietus to the annoyance the monks had so long endured. It may here be mentioned (*par parenthèse*) that this Robert was the abbot who, on his voyage to Rome, to congratulate the Pope Adrian IV (better known in England by his former or family name of Nicholas Brakespear), in passing the Channel, narrowly escaped shipwreck; but, as it is gravely recorded, "having great interest with the Virgin Mary and the martyr St. Alban", he escaped, landed safely, and lived to return to England as "the first mitred abbot".

Thirty-two years now elapsed ere majesty again graced the Abbey with its presence. In 1184, however, very shortly after the election of Warren, or Waring, of Cambridge (who succeeded Symond as twentieth abbot), the interest he possessed at court induced Henry II, in accordance with the custom of the sovereigns of England at this period, to go down, at the great festivals, to some abbey, and there keep their holy days—to accept a grand entertainment at the monastery. Accordingly, early in the year, his Majesty arrived at St. Alban's, accompanied by a numerous train of nobles and attendants, all of whom were received with the magnificence and honour suited to the occasion. During his stay, the king expressed a wish to meet the monks and dignitaries of the Abbey in the Chapter-house; which command being complied with, when Henry entered, he was conducted to the seat prepared for him in the midst of the room, having the Abbot on his right hand, and Walter de Constance, the Bishop of Lincoln, on his left. The King, being seated, bowed to one and then to the other very graciously, by way of salutation.



and then entreated them to "pray with incessant prayer for the safety of himself, his queen, and children, as also for the state of the realm." To this the whole monastery most devoutly consented, acknowledging "that they were bound to perform that duty by every tie of gratitude". Immediately afterwards ensued one of those unseemly struggles for power so peculiarly characteristic of the period. The Bishop of Lincoln, addressing himself to the king, said he had a complaint to prefer to his Majesty, namely, that he was greatly injured, and that the church of Lincoln was shamefully mutilated, by cutting off from it so noble a member as this monastery of St. Alban's, and then observed, "With your permission, I must move a question against this abbot. Whatever my predecessor did—who was simple and easy—he was circumvented in the same. The world well knows that the church is subject to the church of Lincoln, and, whatever hath been done in error, it is fit and expedient that the same be recalled." The Abbot (Warren), hearing this, laid his bare hand on the knee of the king without rising, and said, "Your Majesty is the pledge of my peace—the witness and mediator of the compromise which was began and confirmed between us." The King then arose in some warmth, and exclaimed, "By the eyes of God, I was present at the agreement. What is it, my lord of Lincoln, that you would attempt? Do you think these things were done in secret? I myself, and the most chosen men of the realm, were present, and what was then done was ratified by writing the most incontestable, and confirmed by the testimony of the nobles. The determination stands good, and whoever sets himself to combat this abbot and monastery combats me. What seek you?—to touch the apple of mine eye?" After such a rebuke, the the Chancellor-Bishop was wonderstruck, and uttered not another word. Nor was the subject ever mooted again.

This public proof of the esteem entertained by the king for Warren and his monastery stood the Abbot in good stead during the rest of Henry's life, and satisfied his enemies that the king would not suffer any obstruction or diminution of his honour. So bitterly was this public rebuff felt by the bishop that, in the course of the following year, he was glad to quit England for the Archbishopric of Rouen, to which office he was then appointed.

It was during the abbacy of Warren that Richard Cœur de Lion was taken prisoner on his return from the Holy Land; whereupon he sent a mandate to his Council to demand in his name, from the monasteries, bishops, and clergy of England, all their silver cups, in "order to make up his ransom". Such, however, was Warren's attachment to his cups, that, rather than part with them, he sent two hundred marks of silver instead, which were accepted in satisfaction of the claim. Whether Richard, on his return, acknowledged the contribution by any mark of his favour to the monastery is, however, not known.

Few events in English history have maintained their importance and interest to posterity in an equal degree with that bulwark of British liberty known to us as "Magna Charta", extorted from John at Runnymede in June 1215, and which was upheld, despite the Pope's excommunicating the barons and Archbishop Langton, and the declaration of his Holiness that the great deed was no longer binding on the king. The only mischief arising from this Papal interference was to encourage John to declare civil war, in the prosecution of which he raised forces, fortified and victualled his castles and strongholds with men and stores, and, in December 1215, made his appearance at the Abbey of St. Alban's, with a numerous train of adherents and soldiers, very much to the inconvenience and annoyance of the twenty-second abbot, William de Trumpington (elected and installed 20th November, 1214). As, however, he owed his preferment to the king, he could not do otherwise than gild the royal welcome with, at least, every outward mark of hospitality. Whilst John remained the abbot's guest, a council was held in the Chapter-house, with the object of arranging the plan of future action in renewing and carrying out the war. A few days after, John having left for Dunstable and Northampton, the monks were restored to their usual peace and quiet.

No less than sixty years passed ere the monotonous life of the Abbey was again gladdened by the presence of royalty. The neglect, however, of Richard and John was then amply atoned for by Henry III, who on no less than six different occasions became the abbot's guest, and evinced his favour to the monastery in a very marked and substantial manner. Thus in 1244, whilst John of Hertford was the twenty-third



abbot, the king visited St. Alban's twice, and remained at the Abbey three days on each occasion. His first visit was in the spring of that year; but his pleasure was then considerably diminished by the vexatious rumours which reached him from Wales, as well as of the manner in which the Bishop of Chichester, lately nominated by the king to that see, was treated by the Pope's agent. His Majesty's second visit took place on the feast of St. Thomas, just before Christmas (21st December). On this occasion, whilst attending the Abbey mass, he, in the course of his devotion at the altar, made an offering of a very rich pall or cloak, and, in addition, gave three bracelets of gold to be affixed to the shrine to the honour of St. Alban, and in remembrance of himself. In 1249, Henry once more sought the hospitality of the Abbey, on his way to Huntingdon, and at this time his Majesty was so distressed for money as to be obliged to entreat the Abbot John to lend him the trifling sum of sixty marks, and, to prove the urgency of the want, he told John, on his handing him the money, that "it was as great a charity as to give an alms at the Abbey gate." The king, however, was accustomed to these kind of "loans", and knew well how to "squeeze" the abbot when he wanted pecuniary aid, which he felt sure could not be refused to him, as he honoured the Abbey so frequently with his presence, and presented to it very costly habits and ornaments. In 1251 his Majesty came twice to the Abbey, and made an offering of three robes, manufactured entirely of silk, which, with others before given, amounted to thirty in number, as well as two necklaces of great value. In the year 1252, during the abbacy of John, the twenty-third abbot, Henry's queen, Eleanor of Provence, honoured the Abbey with her presence, accompanied by her children. During her stay, her Majesty was in imminent danger from a thunderstorm, as, whilst sitting in her room, the lightning struck the chimney of her chamber and shivered it to pieces. The Abbey laundry burst into flames; and such a commotion was caused by the elements, that Alanus le Zouch, the king's chief justice of Chester and of the Welsh district (who was escorting two treasure-carts, and had temporarily accepted hospitality at the Abbey), thinking the whole edifice was devoted to destruction, rushed forth with his attendants into the highway, and, as they went,

they fancied a flaming torch or a drawn sword preceded them. As a token of gratitude for her preservation, her Majesty made an offering on the altar of a rich cloth called a "baldakin", of tissue of gold. In the beginning of March 1257, the king again visited the monastery, on which occasion a more solemn procession than ordinary was celebrated within the abbey walls. By the king's command, the inmates of the monastery were habited in their best attire, the saint was borne on such portion of his shrine as was portable, the king himself following in the train, and, by his manner and example, testifying his veneration for the sacred relics of St. Alban. According to his custom, his majesty made great offerings to the shrine, consisting of a curious and splendid bracelet and valuable rings, as well as a large silver cup to receive the dust and ashes of the venerable martyr. He also gave six robes of silk as a covering to the said old monument. On this occasion the king prolonged his stay for a week, and conversed much with the celebrated Matthew Paris, then an inmate of the abbey, making him his companion at table, as well as in the audience-chamber, and in his closet or private room. In 1264, St. Alban's was a scene of great tumult and disorder, consequent upon a dispute between Roger, the twenty-fourth abbot, and the townspeople, connected with the use of the Abbey mills. In the midst of the confusion, the queen arrived, and multitudes crowded the way for the purpose of begging the royal interference in their behalf; but, being foiled in this expectation by the abbot's introducing her Majesty into the monastery by some private way, the inhabitants became more outrageous than before, and so barricaded the town at every avenue, that, from its fortified state, it was called "Little London". It was during this tumult that Gregory de Stokes, the constable of Hertford Castle, and his three attendants, were seized and decapitated by the infuriated townsmen; for which outrage the king amerced the town in a hundred marks, which were instantly paid. The causes of dissatisfaction being inquired into, were soon happily arranged, and peace restored. In 1268, the king made his last visit to the Abbey of which we have any record; namely, on the Feast of St. Bartholomew. On this occasion, his Majesty was accompanied by his eldest son, the Prince Edward, afterwards Edward I.

The royal party entered the church with great solemnity, and made offerings of rich palls, bracelets, golden rings, and of twelve talents beside, the king directing that the abbot might convert these valuable articles into money if he pleased, provided that the proceeds were laid out in ornaments for St. Alban's shrine.

I have been unable to find any trace of a visit of Edward I to St. Alban's after his accession to the throne. On the occasion, however, of the king's war with Scotland, it appears he claimed from the abbot the established feudal rights of six soldiers, which the abbot compounded for at the price of six score pounds at one time, and six score marks at another. Edward, however, presented the Abbey with a large cloth of silk for the great altar, and another for the altar of Amphibalus ; and to the shrine he presented a large image figure of silver gilt.

Upon the accession of Edward II, that monarch demanded of John Maryus, the twenty-sixth abbot, to be furnished on his Scottish wars with two carts and proper horses, and all appurtenances ; but the abbot injudiciously pleaded his poverty, and declared his inability to obey the order ; whereupon, on the king's visit to the Abbey in 1311, accompanied by his favourite, the celebrated Piers Gaveston, his Majesty refused either to see the abbot, or to converse with him, whereupon Maryus at once sought the mediation of Gaveston, and, by presenting the king with a hundred marks of silver, peace was restored between king and abbot—at least, to all outward appearance—although the king soon afterwards, as if to resent still further the abbot's conduct about the carts and horses, cut down a wood at Langley, near Westwood, under pretence of enlarging the royal mansion there, whereupon the abbot claimed the wood as belonging to the monastery ; but, in the end, the royal will prevailed, and the wood was consequently lost to the monks.

The next and twenty-seventh abbot, however, Hugo de Eversden, seems to have conducted his negotiations with royalty with greater prudence than his predecessor, as, although we have no knowledge of any actual visit of Edward III to the Abbey, certain it is that the abbot procured from the king many considerable donations for the shrine, amongst which may be mentioned a crucifix of gold set

with pearls, a cup of silver-gilt of great value, sundry Scottish relics, timber for repairing the choir, and £100 in money.

In 1346, Queen Philippa added to her family by the birth of a son at Langley, and Michael de Mentmore, the twenty-ninth abbot, was not only invited, but expressly solicited, to baptise the royal infant. He stood in such high estimation among the courtiers and nobles that they thought his hand would convey with the blessing a more peculiar degree of sanctity and merit. The child was named Edmund de Langley, and the Earls John de Warren and Richard de Arundel were the sponsors. The queen, after due time, came to the Abbey, and there made an offering of a cloth of gold of great value.

Consequent upon the extortionate demands made upon the monastery during the abbacy of Thomas de la Mare, the thirtieth abbot, the youthful Richard II (soon after the death of Wat Tyler), hearing of the great commotions at St. Alban's, decided to march thither and suppress the disorders; which intention coming to the knowledge of the rioters, they promised submission. It was not, however, until they were positively assured of the king being on his way to the town that they restored the goods they had stolen from the Abbey, and gave a bond to pay £200 to the abbot for damages. Richard was attended on this occasion by Sir Robert Tresillian, his much-dreaded chief justice, and escorted with a guard of a thousand bowmen and soldiers. The king was received at the west door by the abbot and his monks, in procession, and with great solemnity. On the following day, Tresillian commenced his judicial investigation into the cause of the late riots, which ended in the execution of eighteen offenders, and the imprisonment of five of the principal inhabitants. Whilst the chief justice was occupied in condemning the rioters, the king wiled away his time between his religious and public political duties. Thus, he gave a necklace of gold for the image of the Virgin, and to the church two patens or plates of gold, having a vine represented thereon, spreading its branches and its bunches of fruit in a very comely manner, and in money he gave a hundred shillings to the monastery. He then caused all the townsmen between fifteen and sixty years of age to be summoned, and to swear allegiance to

him. Business being, however, concluded at the end of eight days, the king and Tresillian took their departure from the Abbey on July 15th, 1382, for Berkhamstead, whence Richard proceeded to Windsor for the pleasures of the chase.

History is altogether silent as to either visit or donation by either King Henry IV, or his son Henry V, and it is not until we reach the thirty-eighth year of the reign of Henry VI, or seventy-seven years after Richard's visit, that royalty seems to have again smiled upon the monastery.

May 22nd, 1455, was a sad day for Henry VI, and one long noted in the annals of the Abbey. Upon it was fought the first famous battle of St. Alban's, between the houses of York and Lancaster, which, although it lasted but one short hour, yet proved so disastrous to Henry, and left him wounded in the neck by an arrow, and a prisoner to the Duke of York. The king remained on the field until he was left perfectly alone, under his royal banner, when he took refuge in a baker's shop, and was there visited by the conquering duke, who, bending his knee, bade him "Rejoice, as the traitor Somerset was slain", and then led the king, first to the shrine of St. Alban, and afterwards to his apartments in the Abbey, and on the following day took him to London. In 1459, however, Henry and his queen, with their youthful and only son, Edward Prince of Wales, then in his seventh year (pathetically called by Speed "The child of sorrow and infelicity") visited the Abbey, and were then entertained by John of Wheathampstead, the thirty-third abbot, and by far the most famous and illustrious of all the rulers of the monastery. During the king's stay, three monks of the Cluniac order, who had just arrived in England, came to St. Alban's, and sought an audience of the king; but his Majesty, declining to be interrupted in his holiday, ordered them to await his return to London. They were, however, more fortunate with the queen, the celebrated Margaret of Anjou, to whose presence they were admitted to pay their respects, as a daughter of the King of Sicily and "*de Gallianâ Natione*." The result of the audience was, that the queen recommended them for further entertainment, which appears to have been so liberal as to induce the senior monk to address a letter of thanks to the abbot, and present him with a habit of their Order which he had brought with him. At Easter 1459, the king

again passed his holidays at the Abbey. His coming is introduced with this allusion, that, "as Christ came at this time sitting on an ass to eat the passover at Jerusalem, so our lord the king came down at this season *ad manducandum agnellum paschalem cum ducibus et baronibus.*" Being altogether without the means of adequately acknowledging the hospitality shown him, he ordered his best robe to be given to the abbot as a token of his satisfaction. His treasurer, however, knowing that his Majesty had not a second robe to his back, was amazed at the royal command; but, with admirable presence of mind, whilst affecting to obey the king's wishes, whispered in the abbot's ear that "some of those days" he would send him fifty marks instead of the robe, but Henry, hearing of the arrangement, would brook no delay in the payment of the money, and insisted on the prior sending specially to London for it, which was done. The king had it counted, and paid over by the Lord Treasurer in the royal presence; but imposed as a condition that it should be expended by the abbot in the purchase of crimson and gold cloth of great value (commonly called "cremsyne thissue"), and this to be made up in one cope or chasuble, two tunics, and one complete suit for the cover of the grand altar; and this done, the king begged one favour, viz., that the abbot and monks would appoint an anniversary to remember him as their benefactor, and to fix on the day of his death for this solemn memorial, etc. The abbot consented, and the appointment was made and signified in writing. In this concession the abbot set forth what mention should be made of the king in the office, and the form of the collect, and that they should direct six poor men to attend the service, and six in the cloister, and receive bread and money and other articles in relief of their wants, after the manner that was practised on the memorial days of other great and noble benefactors; but, in the meantime, that they should be particularly employed in praying for the felicity and prosperity of the king whilst he remained on earth. "We also promise" (says the abbot) "to observe and celebrate this obit day with wax torches, the ringing of bells, and all other solemnities used and practised by us on the obit days of your illustrious ancestors, King Henry II, Edward III, and Henry V, of divine memory. And we promise and engage ourselves to observe the same

after your decease for ever and ever. In full testimony whereof, and to the full and perfect faith and observance of our premises, we here affix our seal this 15th day of May, 1459.—Given at our Chapter-house," etc. On Shrove Tuesday (Feb. 17th), 1461, the hostile forces of York and Lancaster again met near St. Alban's, when the fortunes of the day rested with the queen (Margaret). As night set in, the defeated Yorkists fled precipitately, leaving their royal prisoner, King Henry, nearly alone, in a tent with Lord Montague, his chamberlain, and two or three attendants. The queen remained in ignorance of the proximity of her captive lord, until his faithful servant, Sir Thomas Hoo, announced the fact at Lord Clifford's quarters, whereupon Margaret, attended by her son, the Prince of Wales, flew to greet Henry, when "they embraced with the most passionate tokens of joy." The royal family and their northern lords then went immediately to the Abbey, at the doors of which they were met by the Abbot John, attended by his monks, who chaunted hymns of triumph and of thanksgiving for the king's safety. The whole party then proceeded to the high altar to return thanks for the victory and deliverance of the king, after which the shrine of St. Alban was visited for a similar purpose; and, on the conclusion of their religious duties, the king, queen, and prince were conducted to their apartments in the Abbey, where they took up their abode, as Holingshed tells us, for several days, at the expiration of which period they proceeded to London. Their stay was, however, but short, as on the 4th of March following Edward was proclaimed king by the style and title of Edward IV.

With Henry VI the royal favours shown to the Abbey were fast drawing to a close. It is true that Edward IV's pleasures of the chase in the forest of Whittlebury led to his early acquaintance with the Abbey and its rulers; but no record is left of any state visit, holiday making, or regal offering by the king, although, from an entry in the Abbey accounts, it appears that John of Wheathampstead expended £85 (no inconsiderable sum in those days) in entertaining the young King Edward IV, at his first visit after his coronation. Tolerance and protection to the Abbey appear to have been the leading features in Edward's time.

Richard III, however, both before and after his accession,

showed great favour to the monastery, and warmly encouraged the completing and publishing of the celebrated "St. Alban's Chronicle"; but with his reign royal patronage ceased for ever, and neither the ancient splendour of the Abbey nor its literary fame could any longer secure to it the grace or favour of the sovereign; indeed, it experienced a fatal blow when Henry VII ascended the throne. His well known avarice led him to covet rather than increase abbatic wealth; and whilst, by the aid of his legal minions, Empson and Dudley, he sought to justify his exactions on the laity, Morton and Fox controlled the clergy, and the work of oppression and destruction became easy. Yet, with an hypocrisy only exceeded by his selfishness, the king affected to manifest great respect and devotion to this Abbey, as in the twentieth year of his reign he caused the abbot and convent of Westminster to engage to pay yearly to the Abbey of St. Alban's one hundred shillings, in order to keep and observe a most solemn anniversary on the 7th February, and thereon to pray for the king his father, and, when his mother, the Countess of Richmond, should be dead, for her also.

And here my notice of this portion of my subject comes to an end. The Abbey, as such, became extinguished, its glories departed, its shrine was despoiled, and its relics scattered and lost. The church, however, never lost its position as a place of worship, but remained in the possession of the crown until the charter was conferred upon St. Alban's in 1553 by Edward VI, at which period it was sold for the nominal sum of £400 to a worthy and wealthy inhabitant of the town, rejoicing in the euphemistic and appropriate name of "Stump". I purposely forbear any remark upon the causes which led to this result; but, accepting the fact in all its bearings and with all its consequences, I most cordially echo the hope expressed at the opening of the present congress by the Lord Bishop of Rochester for the speedy and effectual restoration of the ancient fabric; and that ere long, when the necessity for aid has become extensively known, his lordship's wishes may be fulfilled, and that it may be possible to reckon by thousands the visitors and benefactors of the Abbey of St. Alban's.

Any attempt to impart novelty to the past history of the monastery would be a task far beyond either my cap-



city or intention. Contenting myself, therefore, with the belief that, among the almost innumerable incidents so closely allied to its former prosperity, some may yet be found to interest us, I purpose continuing my subject by laying before the meeting a short but imperfect account of the celebrated shrine of St. Alban, the patron saint of the Abbey, and a passing notice of some of its relics, as a fringe to that fund of valuable information which the labours of other members of the Association have already imparted for our amusement and instruction.

Albanus, the protomartyr of Britain, was, according to Camden, born at Verulamium, and flourished in the reigns of Decius and Probus, in the third century. He was, of course, a Pagan, but was converted to Christianity by one Amphibalus, whom he sheltered during the great persecution of Diocletian, which, says Eusebius, raged for ten years with merciless fury throughout Britain. The immediate cause which seems to have led to the martyrdom of Albanus was that, having succeeded in enabling Amphibalus, for whom strict search was being made by the Romans, to escape by changing clothes with him, he was taken before the authorities, and there openly avowed himself a Christian, saying that he adored "the living God, the creator of the universe"; which avowal he followed up by refusing to sacrifice any longer to the heathen deities. The inevitable result of such conduct was his being first cruelly beaten with rods, and then executed. This event is said to have happened on the 22nd day of June, A.D. 286, on which day the Romish church still celebrates the anniversary of the saint's martyrdom. Upon the arrival in Britain of Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, accompanied by Lupus, Bishop of Troyes, whose mission was to preach here against the Pelagian heresy, the remains of Albanus were exhumed, and having been placed by Germanus with great solemnity in a wooden coffin, together with a goodly supply of holy relics to preserve them, they were restored to the earth amidst prayers and lamentations. By the care of Germanus a small church was erected to the martyr's memory, and was constructed (according to Bede) with admirable taste, though only of timber and plank, and, as the recognised sepulchre of Albanus, it continued in good repute, not only for the piety of the martyr, but for the miracles there shown, and was

worshipped by the religious of those times, and honoured by all. On the invasion of the Saxons, however, this church, with many others, was levelled to the ground, whereby all trace of the martyr's resting place became lost, and continued so until their discovery by Offa, who, failing to procure the waters patronised by Sadak to drown the stings of conscience, tried those of Bath instead, where, we are informed, he was accosted in the silence of the night by an angel, who admonished him to raise out of the earth the body of the first British martyr, Alban, and place his remains in a shrine with suitable ornament. This vision having been reported to Humbert, Bishop of Lichfield, Unwond, Bishop of Leicester, and Ceolwolf, Bishop of Lindsey, his suffragans, they set forth, together with a great crowd of followers of both sexes, and of all ages, to meet the king at Verulam on the day appointed by him, and in array there they commenced their search for the grave of Alban with prayer, fasting, and alms. Fortunately, their pious exertions were soon rewarded with success, as a light from heaven assisted their discovery, and a ray of fire stood over the place "like the star that conducted the magi to Bethlehem." The ground was opened, and, in the presence of Offa, the body of Alban was found, excellently preserved with the relics already named, in a coffin of wood, just as Germanus had placed them three hundred and forty-four years before. As a matter of course, all present, as in duty bound, "directly shed tears of holiness in reverential awe." The body being then raised from the earth, they conveyed it in solemn procession to a little chapel without the walls of Verulam, where Offa is said to have then placed a circle of gold round the bare skull of Albanus, with an inscription thereon, to signify his name and title, and caused the repository to be enriched with plates of gold and silver, and the chapel to be decorated with pictures, tapestry, and other ornaments, until a more noble edifice could be erected.

This transaction happened five hundred and seven years after the suffering of Alban, three hundred and forty-four after the invasion of the Saxons, and on the 1st August, in the thirty-sixth of Offa's reign—that is, A.D. 791. The Abbey was then erected, and, on its completion, the bones of Albanus, who by that time had been promoted to the dignity of a "Saint", were placed therein with every pos-

sible mark of veneration and respect. The canonisation of saints was a very common and ancient practice in the Romish church; and so liberally does the honour appear to have been bestowed that, as far back as 794, the forty-second section of the council held at Frankfort-on-the-Maine prohibited the worship of "new saints, or the erection of chapels in their honour, until, at least, the authenticity of the facts of their martyrdom, or the sanctity of their lives, had rendered them worthy to be revered by the church." Some distinguished writers on Ecclesiastical History have, indeed, ventured to declare that the attention bestowed by humanity upon angels and saints differed but little in many respects from the old worship offered by the Pagans to their divinities; and that St. Hubert, St. Vincent, St. Cosmo, St. Gundoul, St. Catherine, and St. Michael, were merely invoked in substitution of Diana, Bacchus, Esculapius, Ceres, Minerva, and Apollo; until, in fact, each Olympic god was replaced by an inhabitant of Paradise, enjoying the same speciality as his or her predecessor over the elements, the brute creation, diseases, evil spirits, etc., by which means the heaven of Paganism, depopulated by Christianity, was soon replaced by saints and martyrs dear to the church, and ordered by its dogmas to be revered. So numerous, indeed, were the claimants to sanctity as in 794 to exceed twenty-five thousand. Such being the case, it seems a matter of course that our protomartyr should be considered justly entitled to the honour of canonisation, and to be recognised in the church as "St. Alban".

In like manner, the worship of relics has been common in past ages, and in this respect, also, Christianity differed but little from heathenism. When the brother of Bajazet took refuge in France, he sought the favour and protection of Charles VIII by presenting to him all the relics of our Lord, the apostles, and the saints, which his late father Mahomet found at Constantinople when he took that place. In 1488, the Sultan presented Pope Innocent VIII with the spear which had pierced the side of the Saviour, but kept for himself the "tunic without seam", worn by our Lord. It may not be out of place, whilst on this subject, to state that no relics have been contested so violently as the two now in question. Thus, no less than six tunics without seam, worn by our Lord, are claimed, each

as being the original. These are to be seen at Moscow; St. Jean de Latran; the church of St. Martinelle; at Rome, at Treves, and also at Argenteuil, near Paris—the last two being considered the favourites. As to the lance of Longinus, the true one must be sought for in four or five places; viz., the Sainte Chapelle, at Paris; at Nuremberg; the Abbey of Montdieu, in Champagne; at the Abbey de la Tenaille, in Saintonge; at the Selve, near Bordeaux; and at Moscow. In the matter of relics, the faithful also evinced a strong partiality for a few, which may be termed “fashionable saints”; fortunately, however, the supply always equalled the demand, so that none were disappointed. Foremost among the “complete saints” come St. George and St. Pancras, of each of whom no less than thirty bodies are known. In like manner, about eighteen St. Pauls and sixteen St. Peters are claimed; whilst among “the fair sex,” St. Julienne (whose name is now most familiar to us in connection with wine and soup) reckoned twenty bodies, and twenty-six heads; and St. Jerome could boast of two bodies, four heads, and sixty-five fingers. These examples of the incentives to prayer, in the shape of relics, will suffice to satisfy you that, in an abbey like that of St. Alban’s, relics were an indispensable necessity; and, considering the importance then attached to their possession, the number of them recorded is, comparatively speaking, very limited. As may be readily imagined, the effect produced on the minds of the faithful was not always sufficiently durable to maintain that constant excitement so necessary to keep the priestly influence in a healthy state of ascendancy, and, by way of a refresher, a system was gradually introduced of holy images and crucifixes, which possessed the capacity of either moving the head or winking the eyes, exhaling an agreeable odour, changing colour, shedding tears, or sweating blood; and with so much success was the practice attended, as, in course of time to become *de rigueur*. St. Alban’s Abbey was, of course, no exception to the custom; and, on the authority of that well-known herald and antiquary Elias Ashmole, we learn that Mr. Robert Shrimpton, who had been four times mayor of St. Alban’s, and who lived when the Abbey was yet in the enjoyment of its privileges and authority, perfectly remembered a hollow image of the Virgin which stood near the

shrine of the saint, and was large enough to admit a performer, who governed the wires as instructed, caused the eyes of the figures to move and the head to nod, according to the approval, or otherwise, of the offering made, and into which figure he had, in his early years, many times crept surreptitiously, and had a pull on his own account. Notwithstanding, however, the care taken to preserve the bones of the saint intact, they were not destined to remain long either in peace or in safety; as, in the year 950, in the time of Vulnoth, the fourth abbot, the Danes were committing great excesses throughout England, and a party of them, hearing the fame of St. Alban, came to the Abbey, broke open the tomb, seized the saint's bones, and unceremoniously carried some of them off into their own country, and there deposited them in a costly shrine, built for the purpose, in a house of the Black Monks, hoping they would be worshipped and adored with the like veneration in Denmark as they had been in England; and I regret to observe that it is more than doubtful whether the set of bones was ever made complete again. Those, however, which remained were carefully collected, and as soon as possible restored to their former resting-place. In less than a hundred years, however, they were again destined to be disturbed. Thus, during the time of Ælfric, the eleventh abbot, who ruled the monastery during the reigns of Canute, Harold, and Hardicanute, and part of that of Edward the Confessor, the Danes (in 1041) renewed their invasion, and created sad havoc wherever they made their appearance. With a wholesome dread of their ravages, Ælfric, however, resolved that no further portion of St. Alban's bones, nor of his shrine, should fall to the lot of the invaders, and therefore took precautionary measures accordingly, and with so much tact and judgment as evinced a keen knowledge of human nature and its weaknesses. Having decided on his plan, he imparted it to a few select confidants in the monastery, who having approved it, no time was lost in putting it into execution. The first step was to secure the real bones, which was done by those in the secret removing the shrine containing them, and concealing it in a hole in the wall, which had been specially prepared for the purpose, close under the altar of St. Nicholas. That done, other bones were substituted for the genuine ones, and placed in a very rich chest. The wily

abbot having then openly expressed to his monks the fears he entertained of the Danish invasion, proposed to them that for the effectual preservation of the revered relics of St. Alban, he should request the monks of Ely (which place was well secured by water and marshes from the attack of robbers) to take charge of the precious remains, together with some ornaments of the Abbey; and in order to keep up the farce, the abbot completed the consignment with a very rough and ragged old coat which was commonly represented to be the very coat worn by Amphibalus when he converted Albanus.

The proposal being approved, was promptly acted upon, and of course the Ely monks readily consented to receive and preserve the inestimable relics in question, and solemnly pledged their ecclesiastical word of honour (for whatever it was then worth) to send them back whenever requested so to do. Fortunately, however, for Ælfrie's peace of mind, the Danish king, whilst going on board his ship, managed to tumble into the sea and was drowned, the effect of which was to relieve Britain from its anticipated fears. No sooner, therefore, was peace assured, than the monks of St. Alban's politely requested their brethren of Ely to return them their sacred bones, together with the relics and the old coat of Amphibalus. That very natural request was, however, refused point blank; and in not very polite terms the monks of Ely absolutely refused to part with them, relying on the legal maxim which declares "possession to be nine points of the law." It was to no purpose that Ælfrie reminded his brother of Ely of the sanctity of his promise. Ely had got the bones, and resolved to keep them. Ælfrie, on the other hand, determined not to be "done," and threatened that he would not only tell the King, but appeal to the Pope, and complain of such a breach of good faith and religious duty. This well-timed menace produced the desired effect, and brought the Ely folks to their senses, who accordingly announced their intention to act as honest men, and restore the property. That promise, however, proved to be "vox et præterea nihil." It is true they sent back the old coat and the rich chest containing bones, but not THE bones. These precious objects they determined to keep to themselves, and they carried their plan into execution by forcing open the bottom of the chest, and extracting the old bones.



they found there, and replacing them with another sham set. Rejoicing in the success of their trick, they then allowed the St. Alban's monks to depart with the fullest assurance that they were taking with them the real remains of their much loved saint. Abbot Ælfric, however, knew better. On the arrival of the convoy he quietly turned the substituted bones of Ely into the earth, and, aided by his assistants, drew the genuine articles from their hiding-place in the wall, and restored them to the shrine in the church. This joke was too much for the Ely monks, who very shortly after their replacement had the impudence publicly to avow all that they had done. Whereupon Ælfric, who, however, knew that it was a clear case of the "biter bit," brought the facts under the notice of Edward the Confessor, who being satisfied of the fraud committed by the monks of Ely, expressed great anger thereat; but with Ælfric's consent left them in possession of their imaginary relics, and contented himself in explaining to Ely that, not being able to trust them, he had taken his precautions accordingly, and only sent them mere rubbish. The Ely monks, however, were not to be laughed out of their treasure, and therefore boldly stuck to their case; preferring rather to be branded as thieves than to be supposed to have been the victims of Ælfric's finesse, and not to really possess the genuine relics of St. Alban. And thus matters continued for a century, when Robert, the eighteenth abbot of St. Alban's (1151), considering that the claim thus set up by Ely was both indecorous and absolutely injurious to the true interests of the monastery, taking advantage of his visit to his old friend, Adrian IV, at Rome, requested his holiness to prohibit the monks of Ely from fraudulently boasting that they were possessed of the true relics of St. Alban. The Pope accordingly appointed a commission consisting of three bishops of England, who were directed to make strict inquiry into the facts; and in due course they went to Ely, and showing their credentials, the abbot made choice of twelve of his oldest and most discreet brethren to discuss this knotty point with them. The bishops commenced their duty in a very systematic manner, by first exacting an oath from each of the inmates to tell the truth, and abide by their decision. This being somewhat demurred to, the bishops threatened suspension and the censures of the Church. This brought them to their senses, and

they accordingly protested, with unanimous consent, "that they had been deceived by a pious fraud, that they had perpetrated sacrilege, and were wholly without one bone of St. Alban; that with regard to the saint's cassock, or rough coat, they believed themselves to have been deceived through the like pious zeal, for that by reason only of the length of time such a thing could not then exist; and that Germanus, when he discovered the traces of the saint, found them not wrapped in a cassock, but in a pall or cloak, and had left them in it as he had found them; that Offa likewise, who, three hundred and forty-four years after Germanus, had raised the bones from the earth, did not find the said cassock, but the said pall or cloak, which he had reserved whole and unhurt in his church, in testimony of so great a miracle." With this confession the abbot and monks of St. Alban's expressed themselves perfectly satisfied, and the spurious bones of Ely were accordingly once more committed to the earth, and the authenticity of those at St. Alban's admitted to be incontestable.

As must always have been the case, even in the palmiest days of mother Church's influence, a considerable portion of her flock abstained from the active discharge of their religious duties at the Abbey, thereby rendering it necessary from time to time either to invite, attract, or threaten them, by exceptional means, to return to the fold. With this object a life-sized figure of St. Alban, clothed in a magnificent robe, was dressed up, and occasionally carried by the monks into the town in grand and solemn procession, and deposited at the market cross, where, after the appointed address had been delivered to the assembled multitude, the signal was given for the saint's removal, whereupon commenced the miracle which was to astonish the natives. Try as the monks would, the saint remained immovable; nor could he be induced to stir until the abbot had been sent for. On his arrival, duly armed with mitre and crozier, he laid the latter upon the rebellious saint, saying "Arise, arise, St. Alban, and get thee home to the sanctuary"; whereupon, as a matter of course, immediate submission was the result, and the saint returned as he came, much to the amazement, and of course the edification, of the beholders at this wonderful exercise of the abbot's power.

Among the benefactors of the monastery must be men-

tioned Geoffrey de Gorham, the sixteenth abbot (1119-46), who gave a very handsome vessel for the reception of certain relics then belonging to the Abbey, and described as those of St. Bartholomew, St. Ignatius, St. Laurence, and St. Nigasius, martyrs. He also, with a pious regard for the relics of St. Alban, commenced a very sumptuous shrine for the reception of the saint's body, and had made such progress as to have expended not less than £60 (in our time about £600) upon it. He was, however, compelled to abandon his good intention for a better and more beneficial object, viz. in a year of great scarcity of food he converted the gold and silver ornaments of the shrine into money, and gave it all for the relief of the poor. The necessity for this act of benevolence will be best comprehended by the fact that, whereas the usual price of a quarter of wheat was four shillings, it then rose to twenty shillings. The famine-price, however, having passed away, the worthy abbot resumed his pious task, and collected money for the shrine; and by the aid of a monk named Awketill, who had been bred to the business of a goldsmith, and had passed seven years in the service of the King of Denmark, he brought the shrine to great perfection both in ornament and magnificence, the materials of the shrine being of silver-gilt. For want of funds, the upper part of the canopy, called the "crest," remained unfinished, the intention being to adorn and ornament it with gold and precious stones whenever they could be obtained in sufficient quantity. The shrine being erected in the space behind the great altar, as built by Abbot Paul, a day was appointed for the translation or removal of the saint's remains, under the presidency of Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, assisted by Walter abbot of Ensham, and formerly prior of the Abbey of St. Alban's; Robert of Thorney and other abbots, together with the inmates of the monastery; and in their presence the ancient tomb of St. Alban was opened.

And now ensued a curious and highly characteristic symptom of ecclesiastical jealousy, and its dependence on popular weakness. Rumours had got abroad that some of the saint's most precious bones were missing, and that Denmark had stolen some, while the monks of Ely detained others. Such a division of glory was not to be tolerated. Hence, on the remains of the saint being exposed to view, the bones were

taken out, exhibited singly, and numbered. The head was then held up, for the inspection of all present, by the venerable Ralph, archdeacon of the Abbey. On the fore part was a scroll of parchment, pendent from a thread of silk, with this inscription, "Sanctus Albanus." A circle of gold enclosed the skull, fixed by the order of Offa, and engraved with these words, "Hoc est corpus Sancti Albani, protomartyris Angliæ." In reviewing the bones, however, it became clear that one, namely the left scapula or shoulder-bone, was missing; and especial note having been taken of the fact, the translation was completed with all the ceremonies and splendour of the Romish Church. By an almost miraculous circumstance, happily, of course, beyond all doubt, a few years after two foreign monks arrived at the Abbey with letters credential from the church and monastery of Naumburg, in Germany, declaring that they were possessed of the missing scapula, which had been brought to them direct from St. Alban's by King Canute. The bone having been produced and identified, was added to the others in the shrine amidst great festivity and rejoicing, in which the poor were permitted to participate; for the abbot at once ordered three hundred poor persons to be relieved at the gate of the monastery. The priests sang four masses, and the rest of the brethren, by way of rejoicing, sang, instead of a mass, fifty psalms. The day of this solemnity was the 4th of the month of August, in the twenty-ninth year of Henry I (1129); and for many years afterwards the anniversary was solemnised with great devotion and festivity, with the advantage of securing a remission, to all penitents who should attend, of one day's penance in every week throughout that year.

Robert, the eighteenth abbot, to whom allusion has already been made, on his return from Rome caused the coffin and shrine of the saint, which from the before-mentioned circumstances had got sadly out of order, to be repaired; and the gold and silver ornaments and precious stones which in the time of Abbot Ralph had been taken from the shrine in order to purchase their estate at Brentfield, to be restored to its former splendour. Robert's successor, Symond, appears also to have been a steady supporter of the shrine, as the greater part of his time was spent in procuring gold and silver, rich cups and utensils, and in applying them, together with many precious stones, in decorating the shrine of the

saint. His principal artist was one Master John, a goldsmith, who in a very few years so enriched and embellished the shrine as to induce Matthew Paris (who lived nearly a century afterwards) to record that "he had never seen a shrine more splendid and noble." Symond's first care was slightly to elevate the shrine, so that it might appear directly in front of the priest officiating at mass. This improvement rendered it, from its magnificence, an object of great attraction to every beholder, and at the same time it became an excitement to the priestly devotion. The shrine was in the form of an altar-tomb, rising with a lofty canopy over it, supported on four pillars, and upon it was represented the saint lying in great state; and hence it received the homage and adoration of all true believers. This shrine enclosed the coffin wherein the bones of the saint had been deposited by Abbot Geoffrey in 1119, sixteenth abbot. The coffin was in its turn enclosed in an outer case which on two sides was ornamented with figures, and embossed in gold and silver, portraying the chief events of the saint's life. At the head was placed a large crucifix with a figure of Mary on the one side, and St. John on the other, ornamented with a row of very splendid jewels. At the west, and in front of the choir, was placed an image of the Virgin holding her Son in her bosom, seated on a throne; the work being of richly embossed gold, and enriched with precious stones and very costly bracelets. The four pillars which supported the canopy stood one at each corner, and were shaped in resemblance like towers, with apertures to represent windows, all being of plate gold. The inside of the canopy was also covered with crystal stones. Such was the magnificent shrine of the saint at that period.

Hitherto we have heard but little of the Abbey relics. They, however, assumed an importance in the time of William de Trumpington, the twenty-second abbot, whose good fortune it was to add that which was considered an inestimable relic to the Abbey treasury, viz. one of the ribs of Wulstan, formerly Bishop of Worcester, and a strenuous defender of the Church, in the time of William the Conqueror. It is true a slight drawback existed in reference to the mode in which the interesting relic had been acquired, arising from a somewhat confused notion of the law of *meum et tuum* which then pervaded the mind of the worthy abbot,—a cir-

cumstance somewhat calculated, in the opinion of the ill-disposed, to be misconstrued into a violation of the eighth and tenth commandments. Thus the abbot (William) having accepted an invitation given him by his old friend Sylvester, the then Bishop of Worcester, to attend there on the occasion of the solemn translation of the body of the deceased Wulstan to a more gorgeous resting-place than it had hitherto been accustomed to, neglecting that duty which expressly forbid him to covet his neighbour's goods, and still less to appropriate them to his own use, contrived somehow or other, in the course of the ceremony, to "bone" the precious rib, which he then, without the host's knowledge or consent, conveyed to St. Alban's, where it was of course welcomed with many honours. As an easement to his conscience, William then caused an altar to be expressly constructed in the Abbey in honour of Wulstan, near that of St. Oswin, towards the east; and the venerated rib having been enclosed in a case of gold, was deposited on the altar for the gratification of all true believers.

William's donations of relics to the Abbey did not, however, end with the rib, as he had the excessive good fortune to obtain from a monk named Lawrence, who had just arrived in England from the monastery of Jehosaphat, near Jerusalem, a holy cross and other valuable relics, which were accompanied by (of course) authentic testimonials from several persons of rank in the Holy Land, clearly proving the sanctity of this cross and its antiquity, and certifying it to have been made from a portion of the real cross upon which the Saviour had suffered. This priceless relic, together with the others, was then (with the before mentioned testimonials) added to the riches of the Abbey treasury.

Included in the relics before mentioned was a very interesting *morceau*, viz. a human arm, which certificates from the same sources declared positively to be that of St. Jerome, of whom the Romish Church could already, in different countries, boast of possessing, as already mentioned, two bodies, four heads, and sixty-five fingers. This valuable acquisition the abbot enclosed in a costly case of gold set with jewels and stones of great value, and caused it from that time to be borne in the Abbey processions on all great festivals. The additional relics of this saint acquired by the abbot at the same time, consisted of Jerome's staff as well

as a portion of his clothing; but what portion does not, I regret to state, clearly appear, as from the representations of the saint which have reached us, his wardrobe seems to have been at all times remarkably scanty. The Abbot William may, indeed, claim to be considered as a genuine collector of curiosities, equal to any one of the present day, as in 1223 he bought from a traveller who, like the monk Lawrence, had also just returned from the Holy Land, two fingers of St. Margaret, which were considered to be very precious acquisitions. As a proof of the length to which collectors will go, notwithstanding that history recorded, and the Church maintained, that at the time St. Alban was decapitated the insignia of Christianity were of the utmost rarity, our abbot suffered himself to be persuaded by some knowing dealer to purchase another cross, which the abbot was boldly assured was the actual one used at the torture and death of the saint. In addition to being a collector, the Abbot William was a musician, and composed a special service in praise of St. Alban, and which he ordered to be sung every day. He also wrote a service in honour of all these relics and their owners, naming them singly, but always beginning with the cross. These services were regularly sung to his tune with great solemnity.

Hitherto we have spoken of the remains of St. Alban with a confidence certainly not to be mistaken. The identity has been complete even to a lost scapula; what ought, then, to be our surprise when we are gravely assured that in the end of the year 1256, during the abbacy of John of Hertford, the twenty-third abbot, consequent upon some repairs then done at the east end of the Abbey, the workmen, in opening the ground, discovered a stone coffin which, according to the inscription upon it, contained the true bones of St. Alban? This discovery is said to have been made between the altar of Oswin and that of Wulstan, where the matins were usually said, and where stood an ancient painted shrine, and under it a marble tomb or coffin supported on marble pillars; and which place and tomb had been, therefore, considered and called the tomb of St. Alban. Here, then, it was decided the holy martyr had been interred on the day of his execution, about nine hundred and seventy years before. Fortunately this most important but unexpected discovery was made in the presence of the Abbot

John, as well as of the Bishop of Bangor and of Philip de Chester. There were present also all the inmates of the monastery, including Matthew Paris, the narrator; so that it is clear no deception could have been practised, especially as great numbers of pious people who heard of this extraordinary fact flocked to the Abbey to honour the real remains of the saint. Should any of my readers, however, still entertain a lingering doubt on the subject, let me state, as a conclusive proof of the authenticity of these remains, that miracles were performed at the coffin; and Matthew Paris relates that first one boy was thereby raised from death, and then another, and that many were cured of blindness and of the palsy. After that who can possibly doubt the fact? Clear, however, as such testimony must be to us, it is nevertheless to be regretted that at the time of the discovery there were many who stuck to the "old bones," and wickedly declared the newly discovered ones to be a mere trick to draw more money from the pockets of the multitude whose piety, or perhaps curiosity, induced them to flock to the Abbey and make their offerings. With a view, however, to conciliate the partisans as well for the old bones as the new, this difficulty was happily surmounted by mixing them all together, and thenceforth claiming the whole as the genuine remains of his saintship.

Thomas de la Mare, the thirtieth abbot, (1381), whose most interesting brass tablet still forms one of the principal attractions of the Abbey, in his time added many valuable ornaments to the shrine, but of these no detailed account is now to be found. John of Wheathampstead, the justly famous abbot, also caused a picture of the saint, curiously enriched with gold and silver, to be painted at his own expense, and suspended over the shrine. In like manner it also has long since perished.

The renown of the shrine now began to dwindle. Printing had been invented. Man's intelligence was on the increase; superstition had somewhat weakened its hold on the imagination; and, as a natural consequence, the saint's bones no longer continued to inspire that awe and reverence which had formerly existed. Their receptacle had, however, fulfilled its purpose, and decidedly outlived the attractions either of the relics or the winking Virgin. Hence, with a view to restore its pristine influence as far as possible, the

abbot, William of Wallingford, caused the stately screen (the mutilated remains of which are still to be seen and admired) to be erected before the altar, and it was at the time of its completion justly described as a work of very nice and curious device. By it the shrine was thenceforth enclosed, and only shown on rare occasions, and with great solemnity, in the hope of thereby creating a revival of the respect and veneration it had so long enjoyed. A vain hope, however, it was, as from this period, despite the screen, the attractions of the shrine gradually faded away before the rising star of the Reformation, and were utterly extinguished on December 5th, 1539, when, as we read, Sir Thomas Pope received the final surrender of the Abbey, its privileges, and power, from the hireling abbot, Richard Boreman. Immediately afterwards the hands of the spoiler became paramount, and so vigorously was the work of destruction carried on, that all trace of the former honours rendered to the saint soon disappeared, leaving the inscription, "St. Albanus Verolamiensis Anglorum Protomartyr, 17 June, 293," as the only existing link between the sixteenth century of the shrine of St. Alban and the Abbey relics.

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## ON THE PERSONAL NAMES AND SURNAMES USED IN ENGLAND IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY,

AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE HARTWELL EVIDENCES.

BY W. H. BLACK, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. PALÆOGRAPHER.

It has often occurred to me that the actual as well as the etymological origin of English surnames might be most effectually illustrated, by collecting all that can be identified with *a single locality*, as early as written monuments exist. In some instances they are capable of explanation by means of local antiquities, and those only. I have, therefore, examined a quantity of ancient evidences belonging to Dr. John Lee of Hartwell, one of the Vice-Presidents of this Association, and its President in 1862, relative solely to lands in the contiguous parishes of Hartwell and Stone, near Aylesbury, and have extracted and classified all the surnames. At the same time, as there is a fashion in personal names, I have taken out all that I could find within the same period, that

is *the thirteenth century*, within which surnames appear to have first become generally used among the common people. I have quoted nothing later than the reign of Edward I (which ends in 1307), except for the illustration of a name previously found.

The personal names of *men* in the district selected for this purpose, were Adam, Alexander, Geoffrey, Gilbert, Hamon (once), Hardwin (once), Henry, Hugh, John, Jordan, Peter, Philip, Ralph, Richard, Roger, Savary (once), Simon, Tholi (once), Walter, and William. Those of *women* were Akina (once),—whence, perhaps, Eykyn, Aikin, etc.,—Alice, Constance, Hawis, Isolda, Margery, and Maud. These I have expressed in their common English forms, the originals being all in Latin.

The surnames may be classified as either local and patronymic, or derived from personal occupations, functions, and peculiarities. Others appear so unintelligible that they may be considered mere nicknames.

Of the *local* names, the first that claims our attention is derived from the *possession* of the land. The manor of HARTWELL appears to have belonged, as far as written documents reach, to a family of that name. The first occurring in these evidences is “*Domina Hawis de Hertwell*,” a widow, about the time of Richard I or John. The last was William, son of William de Hertwell, who parted with his patrimony to his sister, Alice de Luton. That the etymology of the place is not to be referred to the word *herd*, as supposed by Dr. Lipscomb, the historian of Buckinghamshire, on the authority of the faulty orthography of *Domesday Book*, is proved by the unvarying testimony of ancient charters from the twelfth century downward, and by the fact that the last male possessor of the Hertwells used for a device on his seal a *hart* or stag running; and that the Hampdens, who possessed the manor in the sixteenth century, used a seal representing a *hart* standing over and drinking out of a *well*. This beautiful signet was revived and adopted by Dr. Lee.<sup>1</sup> By charters without date, but of the latter part of the reign of Henry III, Alice de LUTON and her son William became possessed of the manor. The origin of their name must be sought in the town of Luton, in the neighbouring county of Bedford, relative to which two very early

<sup>1</sup> A duplicate in brass was presented by Dr. Lee to the writer of this paper in exchange for the first one, which he had made and presented to the Doctor.



charters (apparently of the twelfth century) are found among the Hartwell evidences, in which the place is called *Luhetunia* and *Luhtonica*. A William de Lutone appears to have had lands in Hartwell in the reign of Henry III. The name is sometimes written *Luyton*, as in a charter of 49 Edw. III; but the seal of arms appended thereto is inscribed "Sigillum Roberti Lutone."

The third considerable name is that of **HAMDEN** or **HAMPDEN**, derived from the lordship and parish of Great Hampden on the Chiltern Hills, which the celebrated John Hampden and his ancestors possessed. Little Hampden was anciently a member of the manor of Hartwell, and its chapelry still is annexed to the parish of Hartwell. The first person of this name occurring in the evidences is Sir Alexander de Hamdene, Knight, in the time of King John or Henry III; and the latest is a Sir Alexander also, whose heiress married into the family of Lee, and so carried the Hartwell estate, which the Hampdens had enjoyed more than a century, into another name. Reginald de Hampden witnessed a charter at Hartwell in 35 Edw. I; and among numerous other early instances of this name there are "John Hampden, Esquire," and "John Hampden of Wleswyke" (Owlswick), both witnesses to a charter dated 10 Henry VI.

The following names may be stated alphabetically :

**ARCHES.**—Jordan and Richard de Arches occur in the time of Henry III; perhaps so named from having lived contiguous to a stone bridge, then uncommon.

**ASSESDONE.**—"Alicia de Assesdone, de Aylesbury," made a charter in 29 Edw. I. Her name was derived, perhaps, from the village and hundred of *Ashenden* in Bucks, or from *Assenton* in Oxfordshire, rather than from the distant forest of *Ashdown* in Sussex, whence the Ashdowns of Kent and Sussex have obviously been denominated.

**ASH.**—"Jordanus *de Fraxino*, perpetual vicar of Stone," made a charter in the reign of Henry III. So called, perhaps, from birth or residence near some remarkable ash-tree. His seal drops the surname, being inscribed "S. Jordani Vicar. de Ston."

**ASPELEE.**—Elias de Aspelee (35 Edw. I) was named, perhaps, from *Aspley* in Bedfordshire. Other places of the same name are in the counties of Warwick and Stafford.

**ATWELL.**—Hartwell parish abounds with natural springs

called *wells*. "The Hartwell" has been lately adorned with an Egyptian alcove of great beauty. From the occupation of one of the ancient cottages, a little below it, may have been derived the distinct appellation of one "Hugo de Fonte," whose name constantly occurs in the reign of Edward I. Sometimes he is called "Hugo dictus de Fonte," and in 24 Edw. I we find him called "Hugo ate Welle"; and again, with the *addition*, "de Hertwelle." In 29 Edw. I he is called "Hugo Atte Welle." In 13 Edw. II there is a "Johannes *ad Fontem*."

AYLESBURY.—"Ric' fil' Rob' de Eylesbur'," and "Aylebures," occurs twice in the reign of Henry III; also with "Willelmus filius Simonis de Ayllebur'," in the reign of Edw. I.

BREACH.—Robert de la Breche held lands in Hartwell, 30 Edw. I. Perhaps so called from residence at a broken bank in the marsh.

CASTRE, or CASTOR.—One of the places of this name in the counties of Northampton, Norfolk, and Lincoln (perhaps the first as the highest), may have been the birthplace or prior residence of Isabella de Castre, who made a lease of lands in Hartwell, 31 Edw. I.

CHALGRAVE.—One of the parishes of this name, in the neighbouring counties of Oxford and Bedford, in like manner, perhaps, distinguished William de Chalgrave and Isolda his wife, who held lands in Little Hampden for life.

FARNBOROUGH.—From 22 Edw. I to the present time this name constantly appears in Hartwell documents. Peter de Farneborue, or Farneburwe, or Farneborwe, was a witness to several charters, and the family held lands there till the recent purchase of them by Dr. Lee. Both in their own title-deeds and in the Hartwell evidences the name is very variously written. It at length took the form of "Farnborough," though probably derived from Farnborough in Berkshire, or some other of the counties in which places of this name are situate.

GREEN.—Part of the village in Hartwell Lane was formerly called "The Green." It is mentioned in several old charters, but is now enclosed. Whence, perhaps, "Ricardus de la Grene" was named in the time of King John or Henry III.

HANSLAP or HANSLOPE.—From this neighbouring parish (where the Hampdens of Hartwell subsequently held lands)

was denominated "Hardwin de Hamesclape," who witnessed a charter in the time of Richard I or John.

HORTON.—Though this name often occurs in charters of less antiquity, and still exists in Hartwell, yet it does not appear so early as the thirteenth century. There are two places so named in Bucks, beside one in Oxfordshire, etc.

HYDE.—Numerous small places occur called Hyde or "the Hide," but from which of them Robert de la Hyde was denominated in the time of Henry III cannot at present be ascertained.

MARSH.—"Willielmus de la Mershe," or Mersche, appears repeatedly as a witness in the times of Henry III and Edw. I. He and others of the same surname were obviously so called from *La Mersche*, or "The Marsh," a place in the neighbouring parish of Kimble, to which numerous ancient charters relate among the Hartwell evidences.

MORE.—"Willielmus de la Morre de Hertwell," who witnessed a charter in the reign of Henry III, may have occupied some of the moorland in the lower part of the parish.

MORTON.—William de Mortone held lands in Hartwell, 18 Edw. I, and probably was a native or inhabitant of the neighbouring parish of that name, where the Lees were settled before their possession of Hartwell.

NORFOLK.—"Rogerus de Norfolchia, de Ayllesbury, senior," witnessed a charter, 29 Edw. I.

PENTLOW.—"Henricus de Pentelowe," or Pentelawe, who held lands in Hartwell in the time of Edw. I and in the following reign (10 Edw. II), and is styled a knight, seems to have had his origin from a place of that name in Essex.

RODE or ROADE, a place in Northamptonshire or elsewhere, of this name, seems to have given its name to Ralph de Rode and Robert, son of Hugh de Rode, who witnessed a charter about the time of King John.

SOUTHCOT.—Robert and William de Suthcote occur (the latter repeatedly) in the reigns of Henry III and Edward I. Sprung, perhaps, from the place of that name in Devonshire.

ULVESWYK or OWLESWICK.—"Johannes filius Roberti de Ulveswyk in Aylesbury," made a charter of land in Hartwell, 23 Edw. I.

VACHE.—Sir Richard de la Vache, knight, witnessed a charter at Hartwell, 35 Edw. I. His name was, perhaps, taken from a place called *Vach*, in the hundred of Burnham, Bucks.

WEST.—Roger West, 25 Edw. I, was most likely so called to distinguish him from another Roger living eastward of him.

WICKEN, a place in Cambridgeshire, seems to have given name to Walter and Hamun de Wicken about the time of King John.

The names, DE LA FALAISE, DE CLOVILE (of which a considerable family seems to have been seated at Hartwell, or held lands there and in Stone), DE SANCTO CLARO, or "Le Sencler, Le Seyncler," etc. (frequently occurring), MUNCHANS' (Montchenesy), and DE BRACI or LE BRACI, are *Norman* names, the origin of which is foreign to the present purpose. The like may be said of WARIN or WARYN, BARET, and PURCEL or PORCEL (a little pig), all which may be found in the earliest Hartwell evidences.

*Patronymic* surnames next occur, and they are among the most ancient. Oftentimes it is hard to distinguish the transient from the fixed names of this description, when expressed in Latin. The following modern names appear to be derived from Latin originals occurring in these evidences: THELUSSON from "Hugo fil. Tholi," the grantor in Dame Hawis de Hartwell's charter, whose father, Tholi, is also mentioned therein. HUGHSON or HUGHES ("Henricus fil. Hugonis") occurs in a very early charter. NEILSON or NELSON may be derived from such a name as "Robertus filius Nigelli." ALEIN or ALLEN often occurs. It is originally the personal name, Alanus; and *filius Alani* became, in Norman times, Fitzalan. So also the name of MARTIN or MARTYN, which often occurs in the reign of Edward I. Its normal form is "Johannes filius Martini," in that of John or Henry III, and in 30 Edw. I. SIMONS or SYMONS is the English version of "Willelmus filius Symonis," a name of the time of Henry III.

Surnames derived from *offices, trades, and occupations*, are common throughout Europe. They first belonged to an individual ancestor, and the Norman article is often prefixed to such designation. Thus, Rogerus le FORESTER, in the time of Richard I or John; Johannes le MAYSTER or MEYSTER, 24 and 25 Edw. I; Hugo le WARDE, 24 Edw. I; Richard le SALTERE and Christina his wife, 29 Edw. I. The Latinised names of CARTER, CLERK, SMITH, and BARKER, occur in Adam Carectarius and Willelmus Carrectarius (whence the numerous Carters now in the parish, doubtless, have

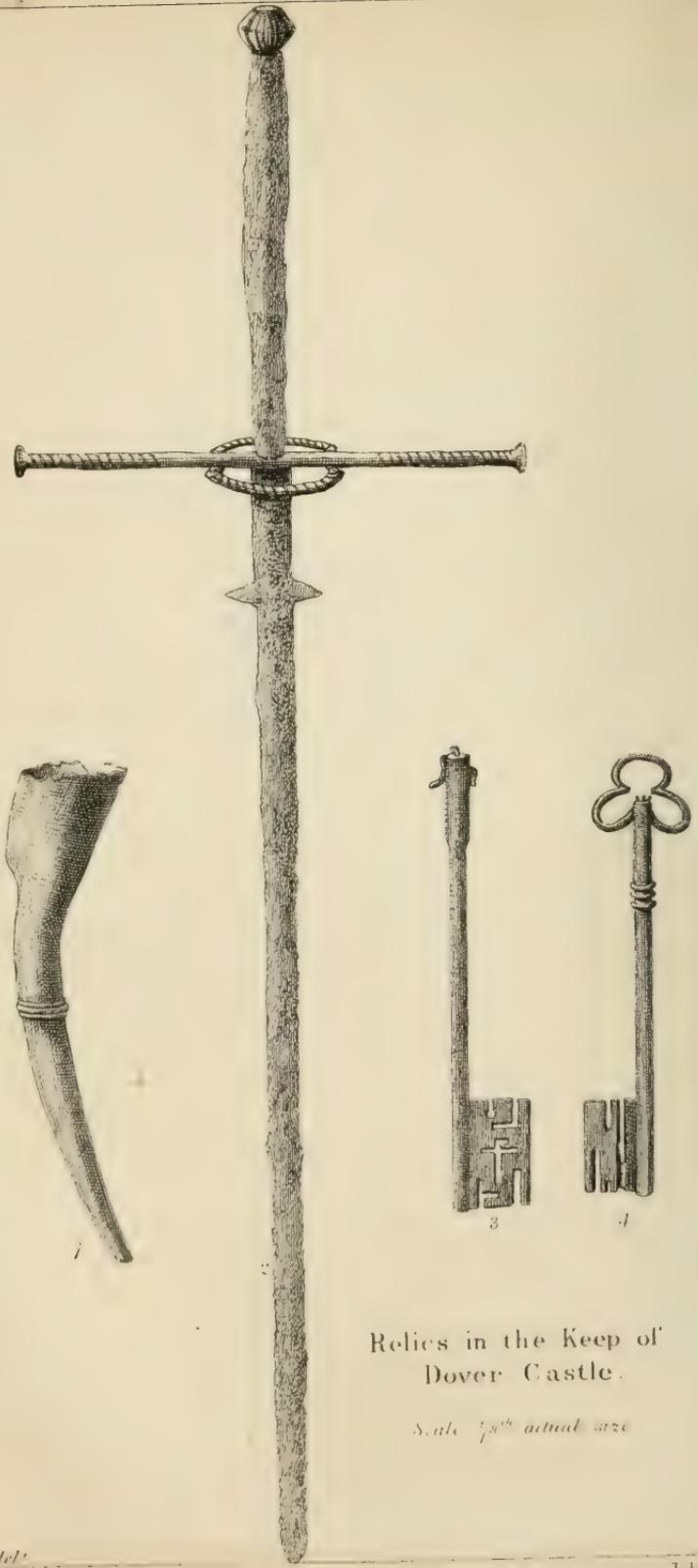
sprung); "Simon clericus de Hertwell," Robertus Faber (24 Edw. I), and Thomas Bercarius. This last name is the origin of the French *berger*, a shepherd; derived from *bercaria*, a sheepfold; and that from *vervex*, a wether sheep. PALMER, Palmere, or Paumer, may here be mentioned; and "Gode-  
nere," if there be such an occupation.

Surnames adopted or imposed by reason of *personal character or peculiarity* may be perceived in the following instances: WOLF.—"Willielmus *Lupus* de Hamesclape." GOOD.—Richard le Gode and Gilbert le Gode, whose name is of frequent occurrence. FATHER ("Johannes le Fader"), perhaps the parent of a large family. LITTLE.—"Jurdanus de *Lutlee*," of 24 Edw. I, is called "Jordanus le *Letle*" in 31 Edw. I. YOUNG.—In Latin, "Hugone le Juvene," with or without the article (18-24 Edw. I); in French, "Henr. le *Jeune*" (19 Edw. II); and in English, Johannes le Zunghe or Zonghe (18 Edw. II). The French PORCEL or PURCEL belongs to this class; and, above all, the English WISMAN or WYSMAN, frequently occurring in the reign of Henry III and Edward I; for wisdom is not hereditary, though a surname may be transmitted from father to son. GODENERE has been mentioned before. Can it be explained morally by the old proverb, "The nigher to church, the farther from God"? I expected to find MONK, one of the oldest names in Hartwell; but though occurring in less ancient charters, it does not appear in the thirteenth century.

Some names are derived from *tenure*, as FRANKLIN. Alicia le (*not* la) Frankeleyn conveyed a message and land to William de Luton, by a charter apparently of the time of Henry III. TEMPLE is a conspicuous name in these and later documents; but whether derived from holding land or office under the Templars, or from one of the places called Temple (if those names be ancient enough), I do not know. I find "Ricardus de Templo" in the time of John or Henry III; Gilbertus and Willielmus de Templo, 24-25 Edw. I; "Thomas *ate* *Temple* de Bissopestone," 10 Edw. II; and John and Hugh "atte Temple," 19 Edw. II.

Of the remaining names I cannot give any satisfactory account. The principal are the preeminent BLACKSTONE, written Blacstan, Blaxstan, Blacston, and at length (33 Edw. I) Blackston. Thus variously does the great name of William Blackstone occur repeatedly, in the reign of the first





Relics in the Keep of  
Dover Castle.

Scale  $\frac{1}{8}$ th actual size

Edward, as that of a landowner in Hartwell; but where the *black stone* was situate I cannot find. NEYRENU, Neirnut, Neyrnuht, Neyrnuyt, is a name occurring in various forms. One person was named Sir John Neyrnut, knight; and the seal of one who frequently occurs is inscribed "S. Nicholai Neyrnut." BUNZ or "Buns" (now Bunce), DUG or "Dugge," WINTER or "Wynter," NAUEGAR, TOKY, SEWY, KYNG ("Johannes dictus Le Kyng," 25 Edw. I), and HUNNE, I cannot explain the origin of. The last belonged to one of the unfortunate natives or bondmen ("Ricardus le Hunne de Suthrope"), who, with all his, was conveyed by charter to William de Luton, by his lord, Roger de Braci of Stone, in the reign of Edw. I. To these I must, in conclusion, add FOLK (24 Edw. I), which appears, by a charter of the next reign, to be identical with Fulk, and was, perhaps, a name of Norman origin.

I humbly hope that these imperfect and rapidly sketched collections may serve to incite others to furnish similar lists from original and authentic sources of local information in other parts of England.<sup>1</sup>

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## ON SOME ANCIENT RELICS PRESERVED IN THE KEEP OF DOVER CASTLE.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

THOSE who have ever visited the Armoury in the Keep of Dover Castle cannot have failed to notice suspended on the wall a group of relics consisting of a metal horn, a formidable two-handed sword, and two gigantic keys of iron; and on the opposite side of the apartment a large caseless clock of antique aspect. Those who have seen these remnants of bygone ages, and those who have only heard of them, may both perchance feel some interest in learning their true history, so far as it can now be gathered, though that history be not half so charming as the romance which fiction has cast around at least three out of the five objects enumerated.

Fifty-five years before our Lord's Nativity the imperial eagles spread their wings in Britain, and to the eye of faith

<sup>1</sup> This paper was written for the Derby Congress, in 1851, and happening to be one among the "other papers" which were "presented", but not read there (see *Journal*, Oct. 1851, p. 365), it was mislaid among the late Treasurer's papers, and has but lately come to light.—W. H. B. 7 Dec. 1870.



Cantium still exhibits tangible traces of the Roman foe. Many a visitant to Dover has brought away with them a ball of iron pyrites, chiselled out of the chalk cliff into which it was said to have been fired by the artillery of Julius Cæsar, and, therefore, prized as a memento of the Roman Invasion. And how often have we read in popular works that Dover Castle was erected, or strengthened, by order of the same emperor to secure his imaginary conquest of the island ; and the tale yet lingers about the old fortress that during its construction the builders were warned when to begin and quit their labours by sound of a horn, which was long preserved in the Fienes, Newgate, or Constable's Tower, but which, after the death of Governor Jenkinson, was removed to the Keep, where it now hangs the highest of the group of relics, the consideration of which we are entering upon. Showmen look upon archæologists as a race of heartless monsters, eager to run tilt at the most cherished legends, delighting to destroy old fancies, and give "the lie direct" to many an astute cicerone. Expounders of the relics in the keep of Dover Castle, have mercy on us, for we mean no offence in saying that your *Roman Cornus* was made centuries after Julius Cæsar had been gathered to his fathers, and the last Roman legion had embarked from Albion's shores. But whilst denying this precious horn the right to be considered of the age of Cæsar, we are willing to concede to it an antiquity which ought to satisfy all reasonable beings, whether they be showmen or spectators. There is, however, little to direct us to its exact era beyond its simple contour and general appearance (see pl. 18, fig. 1). It is of the most inartificial form of instrument, such as we meet with in the illuminated MSS. of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and may possibly date from Saxon or Norman times, and have been used by the trusty sentinel or warder to proclaim the approach of strangers, and sound alarm when danger threatened. The embouchure is merely the small end of the tube without any expansion to prevent the escape of the performer's breath, a feature which is undoubtedly characteristic of an early period. This most curious horn measures in a straight line from aperture to aperture exactly  $19\frac{3}{8}$  ins.; and is composed of an alloy resembling bell-metal. The mouth of the instrument, and two injuries it has sustained, are repaired with lead, and with this addition it weighs between 9 and 10 pounds.

“The trumpet’s silver sound is still,  
The warder silent on the hill.”

But the sight of this antique horn brings to mind many a stirring event ; and long may it remain in the old Castrum, an honoured heirloom of feudal times, when the advance of friend and foe was alike heralded by its blast.

Next in reputed age to Julius Cæsar’s cornu in our group of Dover relics is a mighty sword, affirmed to have been discovered on the far-famed field of Hastings,—a veritable relic of that glorious fight in which vengeance fell on the perjured usurper Harold, and the victorious arms of Normandy freed England from the degrading yoke of Saxon tyrants. Had this deadly brand been said to have come from Bosworth instead of Hastings, there would have been a colouring of probability in the story, for it may safely be referred to the second half of the fifteenth century. The point of the blade is broken off, but the weapon still measures upwards of 5 ft. in length ; about 17 ins. of which is taken up by the grip and pomel. The latter is somewhat globose, but compressed so as to produce an angularity round its middle. The tang is encased in wood, and was once probably covered with coloured velvet. The quillons, or cross-guard, consist of a straight bar, measuring  $20\frac{1}{2}$  ins. from end to end. The extremities of the quillons spread ; and from the middle of the guard on either side projects a loop or bow, which furnishes an additional protection to the hands (see pl. 18, fig. 2). Somewhere about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ins. down the blade, and jutting out on either edge, is a broad sharp cusp, of the fashion not unfrequently seen in two-handed swords of the same epoch. In Skelton’s *Meyrick* (pl. 100) is engraved a sword with like cusps of the time of Richard III, and one of the time of Henry VII, in which the points are deflected from the hilt, so as the two together form a crescent. These examples measure respectively 4 ft.  $9\frac{1}{2}$  ins., and 5 ft. 4 ins. in length ; but these dimensions are greatly exceeded by some of the old two-handed swords of Scotland,—that, for instance, erroneously attributed to Sir Christopher Seton, the brother-in-law of Robert Bruce, is 5 ft. 9 ins. in length, and weighs  $7\frac{1}{2}$  pounds. This weapon is certainly not earlier than the one at Dover Castle.

In Don Saltero’s Coffee-house at Chelsea was formerly shown a huge espadon with wavy blade, described in the

old *Catalogue* (p. 13) as “the flaming sword of William the Conqueror,” which would have formed a capital companion to the weapon reported to have been wielded at the battle of Hastings, being little inferior to it in age.

In the opinion of the late Sir Samuel Meyrick, the two-handed sword came into fashion at the close of the reign of Henry V, and “was at the height of esteem at the commencement of the sixteenth century.” And in Demmin’s *Weapons of War* (p. 372) it is stated that “the two-handed sword (*Zweihänder*), or real espadon, is no earlier than the fifteenth century. It was the ordinary weapon of the foot-soldier in Switzerland; in Germany its use was confined mainly to the defence of besieged towns.”

Keys have had a part in many a tale beside that of Blue Beard’s closet, and there was once probably some startling legend connected with the two massive ones of iron forming a portion of the group of relics under review; but all that is now said about them is that they are the ancient key of Dover Castle, but whether of the fortress erected by Mandubratius, Julius Cæsar, or some Kentish monarch, deponent sayeth not (see pl. 18, figs. 3, 4). These keys weigh together  $4\frac{3}{4}$  pounds. They have both piped stems to turn on broaches in the locks. The one which has suffered so sadly in its bow is  $18\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length, and has its bit or web perforated with cross, straight, and right-angled slits. The key with the perfect quatrefoil bow has its stem annulated towards the upper part; and its bit, pierced by four straight fissures. This specimen measures close on 18 ins. in length, and is, like its gigantic companion, a fine example of the fortress key of the second half of the fifteenth century.

We must now turn our attention from the curious relics displayed on the wall of the Armoury to the old clock which stands in solemn silence opposite to them, and which, caseless and faceless though it be, is not unworthy of respect. It weighs  $159\frac{1}{4}$  pounds, and the following are its dimensions as furnished by one whose general accuracy insures the correctness of the statement:—Extreme length,  $27\frac{3}{4}$  ins.; width of space for face, 21 ins.; height to top of frame, 26·2 ins.; diameter of front cylinder, 4·2 ins.; diameter of rear cylinder, 3·9 ins.; thickness of iron framework, ·25 in.; width of iron of vertical framework, 1·22 in.; width of iron of horizontal framework, 1·35 in.; width of iron of central vertical framework, 1·7 in.

So prone is human nature to romance, that even this innocent superannuated time-measurer has not escaped the misrepresentations of showmen and guide-writers. Kendall, in his *Outline of the Castle Keep at Dover* (p. 6), speaks of it as "the oldest clock extant of which the construction is known. It was made, as the date upon it tells us, in 1348, and is, therefore, thirty years older than that of Charles V of France, which was supposed to be the oldest existing." And in Wood's *Curiosities of Clocks and Watches* (p. 41) we read that "there is now at Dover Castle, nearly entire, an unsophisticated old timepiece, bearing the date of the year 1348, and the initials R.L. united as a monogram." Now the same gentleman who has kindly furnished the measurements of the clock in question, and who has been familiar with it for years, and has examined it most carefully, unhesitatingly pronounces the assertion that it bears the date 1348 to be "false." No one would wish to deny that the clock is an old, very old, example of its kind, but there is nothing about it to justify the report that it was constructed in the reign of Edward III, nor, indeed, in any part of the fourteenth century. Could anything like the numerals 1, 3, 4, 8 be discovered on the clock, we might be willing to read them as 1548, but never as 1348.

The clock of Charles V, referred to by Kendall, is the famous one in the *Tour de l'Horloge* of the *Palais de Justice*, Paris, made by a German, named either Henry de Vick, or Charles de Wyck. Soon after the French king had caused this timepiece to be made, another was fabricated by Jean de Jouvence. But before either German or Frenchman was busied on his machine, the ingenious Monk of Glastonbury, Peter Lightfoot, had contrived a clock for his Abbot, Adam de Sodbury, who died A.D. 1335, so that, even if the Dover clock was really of the year 1348, it is not the oldest horologe in England, for that made by the good monk is believed to still exist in an ancient chapel in the north transept of Wells Cathedral, whereunto it was removed during the reign of our eighth Henry.

There is something truly melancholy in the contemplation of the old clock in Dover's ancient Keep, mute amid unceasing sound, motionless amid a restless activity; its effete hand, wheels, and barrels, making up a dreary monument of departed ages, a record of something irrecoverably

lost, to which the poet's query might be as fitly addressed as to the horologe at Hampton Court :—

“Memento of the gone-by hours,  
Dost thou recall alone the past ?  
Why stand'st thou silent midst these towers,  
When time still flies so fast ?”

Though the time has long since passed for winding up the venerable clock, it has arrived for winding up this brief, and, in many respects, imperfect description of the group of relics in the Keep of Dover Castle ; and, in so doing, I beg to state that the illustrations now produced have been kindly procured by the Rev. S. M. Mayhew, whose intention was to have accompanied their exhibition with his own remarks, which would have invested the delineations with a far higher value and interest than any feeble efforts of mine can give them. Ill-health and press of parochial duties have prevented our esteemed friend from fulfilling his wishes, and, at his request, I have thrown together the few observations which I now venture to submit.

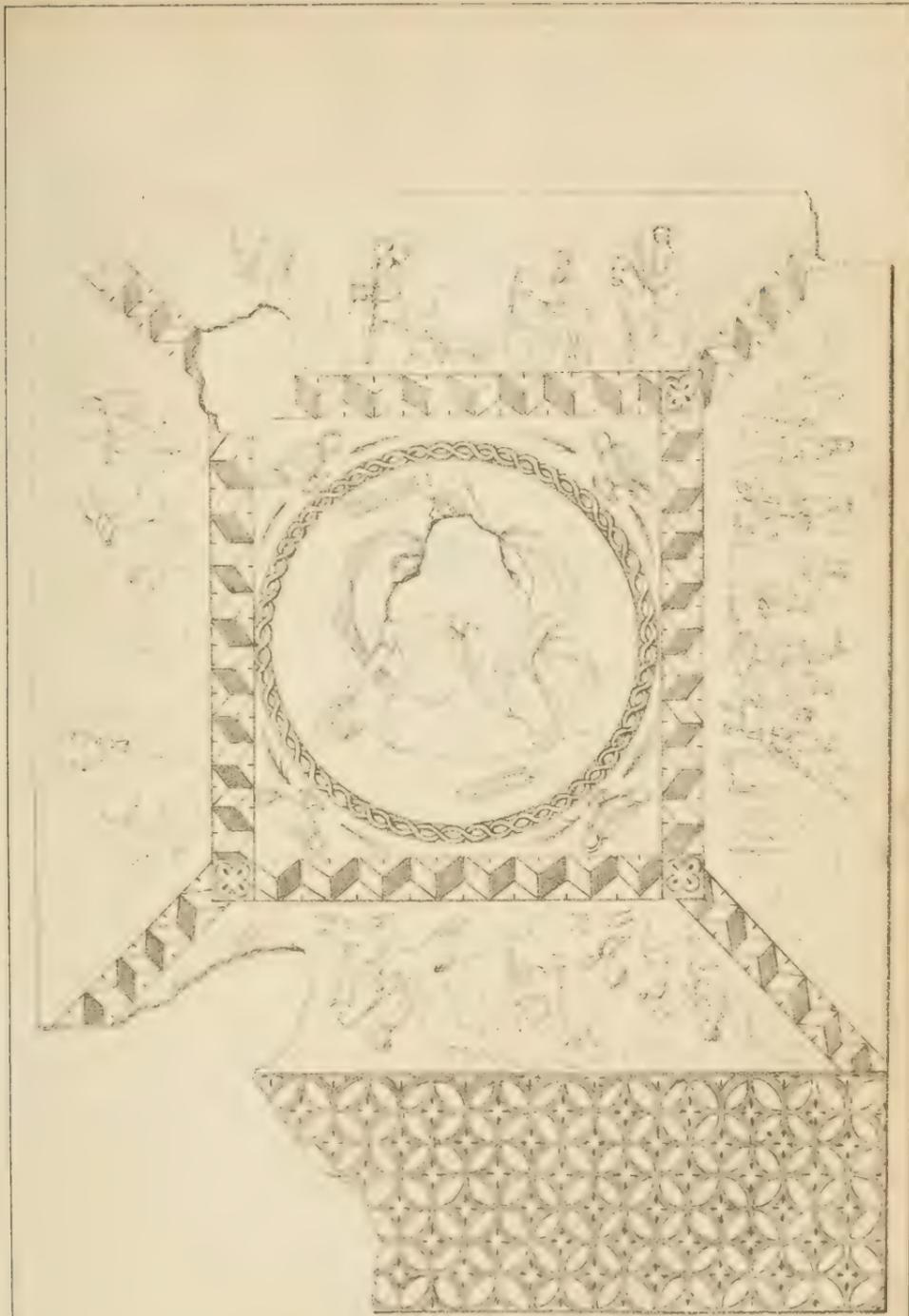
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## LETTRES SUR UNE MOSAÏQUE GALLO-ROMAINE DECOUVERTE EN 1870 À LILLEBONNE

(ARRONDISSEMENT DU HAVRE).

A MONSIEUR THOMAS WRIGHT, *Membre de l'Institut, Vice-Président et Secrétaire de l'Association Archéologique de la Grande Bretagne.*

Monsieur le Secrétaire,—Je prends la liberté de vous adresser un croquis et l'extrait de deux lettres dont *l'Association* prendra sans doute connaissance avec quelque intérêt. Il s'agit d'une des plus belles découvertes qu'on ait faites dans notre pays. A Lillebonne (arrondissement du Havre) on a rencontré en Mars une mosaïque de près de 60 mètres carrés. Les Procès Verbaux de notre Société Havraise en ont dit quelques mots. Mais à cette époque il n'y avait qu'une très petite portion de mise à nu. Depuis, le maire de Lillebonne, propriétaire du lieu de la découverte, a fait terminer les travaux et recouvrir sa mosaïque par un bâtiment, ce qui a pris quelque temps. J'ai fait une esquisse que je vous adresse, et dont j'ai soumis une copie à M. de Longpérier, directeur du Musée du Louvre. En réponse à ma lettre dont vous



Mosaïque Gallo-Romaine de Lillebonne



trouverez copie, M. de Longpérier m'a répondu par les éclaircissements qui suivent, et qui me paraissent tout à fait satisfaisants. J'avais l'intention de publier en France le dessin et les deux lettres, mais les circonstances politiques sont telles que pour longtemps la plus belle découverte ne rencontrera pas chez nous l'intérêt qu'elle mérite. Ayant de M. de Longpérier l'autorisation de publier où bon me semble ses détails si intéressants, j'ai cru qu'en les soumettant à vous et à l'Association, ils seront beaucoup moins sacrifiés qu'ils ne le seraient actuellement dans ce pays, où les idées sont tout *ailleurs*. Aucun dessin de la mosaïque n'a été publié. L'inscription est restée aussi inexpliquée qu'en Mars dernier. Aussi puis-je vous faire cette communication comme originale et inédite.

Dans l'espoir qu'elle vous paraîtra digne de quelque intérêt, et que peut-être elle donnera lieu à de nouvelles observations, je vous prie, Monsieur et honoré collègue, d'agréer l'assurance de mes sentiments les plus dévoués et les plus distingués.

CH. RESSLER,

*Secrétaire de la Société Havraise.*

Havre, 24 Août, 1870.

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PROCÈS-VERBAUX DE LA SOCIÉTÉ HAVRAISE DE FÉVRIER ET DE MARS 1870.—SÉANCE DU 25 MARS.

M. CH. RESSLER lit, sur une mosaïque nouvellement découverte à Lillebonne, la note qui suit :<sup>1</sup>—

“La communication que, dès le 10 Mars, M. Montier-Huet avait faite à la Société Havraise et dont nous ne pouvions rien vous dire avant cette séance, a été déjà répandue dans le public par la voie des journaux. Notre collègue M. J. Bailliard et moi ayant été nous rendre compte de l'importance de la découverte le surlendemain de notre dernière réunion, nous avons cru devoir faire participer la presse aux notes que nous rapportions pour les soumettre à la Société. Autrement nous aurions pu être distancés par d'autres explorateurs moins discrets. De la sorte nous assurions à notre compagnie la priorité d'une découverte dont les précédents nous autorisaient à accepter d'avance les appréciations de notre correspondant à Bolbec.

<sup>1</sup> La même note a été lue à la section d'archéologie du Congrès des Sociétés Savantes tenu à la Sorbonne sous les auspices du ministre de l'instruction publique.

“En effet, à en juger par la portion que nous en avons vue, la mosaïque de Lillebonne doit être un morceau unique. Dans cette localité riche en monuments, riche en souvenirs, cela n’a rien qui doive nous étonner. C’est la ville normande dans laquelle on a fait les découvertes archéologiques les plus intéressantes. Au commencement de ce siècle, l’abbé Rever y commençait les fouilles du théâtre romain que le comte de Caylus avait pu deviner dès le siècle dernier ; aujourd’hui ce monument se dresse fièrement avec ses immenses gradins en face de la grande route de Caudebec. Peu après l’abbé Rever rencontrait à peu de distance la statue en bronze doré de six pieds de haut qui orne aujourd’hui le musée du Louvre. Emmanuel Gaillard découvrit ensuite le Balnéaire, dans les ruines duquel il trouva une belle statue en marbre blanc qu’il attribua, dans un ouvrage qui est resté un chef-d’œuvre de méthode et d’esthétique, à Faustine. M. Achille Deville vint ensuite analyser les inscriptions et les cippes funéraires du cimetière. A M. Deville succéda notre savant concitoyen M. l’abbé Cochet, qui explora de la manière la plus heureuse le cimetière du Mesnil en 1852, et en 1864 la riche sépulture isolée dont il nous parlait ici-même au retour de son exploration. En 1867 le cimetière romain montra de nouveau ses sépultures plus riches que jamais. Nous vous avons rendu compte de ce que M. Lechaut et moi nous trouvâmes au Mesnil. La plus importante découverte fut celle des miroirs sphériques en verre étamé. Elle permettait d’établir un fait déjà soupçonné, mais non établi scientifiquement auparavant : que les Romains connaissaient l’usage de miroirs en verre semblables aux nôtres. Tout cela nous permettait de nous promettre une belle exploration, et jusqu’ici notre attente n’a pas été trompée.

“Notre savant correspondant, M. Brianchon, qui avait d’avance exploré le terrain, s’est d’ailleurs joint à nous, et nous a fait part de ses premières observations, précieuses pour nous, comme tout ce qui nous vient de cet estimé collègue.

“La mosaïque est de grandes dimensions, de dimensions si grandes même qu’elle doit être un morceau unique.

“Les deux premiers compartiments seulement étaient mis à nu au moment de notre excursion à Lillebonne. (*Ces sujets ont été mal interprétés, comme M. Rössler l’a reconnu aussitôt qu’il a pu voir les groupes complètement dégagés.*

*Sa lettre suivante nous donne une interprétation plus parfaite.*) L'inscription avait été recouverte pour la continuation des travaux, et nous n'en avons eu connaissance que par une copie qui nous a été montrée et qui s'est trouvée présenter quelques inexactitudes. Malgré ces conditions défavorables, notre savant collègue M. Bailliard n'hésita pas à interpréter les deux mots principaux : *Felix* et *Puteolanus*, qui donnent le nom de l'artiste auquel on doit la mosaïque et le nom de sa ville natale, Pouzzole en Italie. Aujourd'hui qu'une copie exacte nous a été remise, nous pouvons lire cette inscription en entier :—

T.SEN.FILIX C PV  
TEOLANS FEC

T. Sen. Filix (ou Felix) civis Puteolanus fecit.

“ Cette interprétation a été également donnée par M. Léon Rénier, et nous n'avons pas besoin de vous dire avec quel plaisir nous avons vu ce savant spécialiste et notre collègue se rencontrer si exactement sur un terrain aussi difficile. Pendant que M. Bailliard préparait sa note pour le *Courrier du Havre*, M. Rénier rédigeait sa communication pour le Comité des travaux historiques, et deux heures avant que celui-ci soumit sa traduction aux membres du Comité, le *Courrier* publiait la note de notre confrère.

“ Une autre inscription s'est encore rencontrée dans les nouvelles découvertes. Mais ce n'est qu'en tremblant que nous vous dirons les conjectures qu'elle a suggérées.

“ Voici un calque de cette inscription :—

ET AMORCF  
DISCIPVLVS

Comme elle entoure, ainsi que la première, le médaillon central, dans lequel on voit une scène qui, paraît-il, ne rappelle pas précisément une image de la Morale en action, personne n'hésita à la traduire par *amoris discipulus*, ‘disciple de l'amour.’ Bien que nous n'ayons pas vu sur place ces deux mots, nous avouons que ce n'est pas sans peine que nous adopterions cette interprétation. La phrase serait incomplète et les lettres restées inexplicées n'auraient pas leur raison d'être, ce qui ne peut s'admettre et serait, dans bien des occasions, un moyen trop facile de tourner des difficultés épigraphiques. Sans connaître exactement la disposition relative des deux inscriptions, nous risquerons

une hypothèse qui pourra d'ailleurs être bien vite contrôlée. Nous nous demanderons d'abord ce que signifient dans l'interprétation proposée les deux premières lettres : ET, qui se reconnaissent facilement sur le calque. Puis où est le génitif IS ; il n'est à trouver nulle part. Il vaudrait peut-être mieux voir dans les premières lettres AMOR celles d'un nom ou d'un surnom. La fin de ce nom manque encore, mais le C ou la moitié d'O qui suit l'R pourrait bien en faire partie. Joignant donc cette série de caractères à celle qui a été parfaitement expliquée, on lirait :—

“T. Sen. Filix civis Puteolanus et Amor...(?) discipulus fecit ;  
ou T. Sen. Filix civis Puteolanus et Amor...discipulus fecerunt.”

Nous aurions donc là le nom de l'artiste accompagné de celui de son élève et collaborateur, ou de celui de son ancien maître qui, dans cette supposition, aurait dû acquérir une certaine renommée pour qu'un de ses élèves ait cru devoir signer ses œuvres en se donnant pour son disciple.

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EXTRAIT DE LA LETTRE ADRESSÉE À M. DE LONGPÉRIER.

A M. A. de LONGPÉRIER, *Membre de l'Institut, Conservateur des Antiques au Musée du Louvre.*

....La mosaïque de Lillebonne est de grandes dimensions. Elle occupe une superficie d'environ soixante mètres carrés. Le croquis que je vous adresse est à l'encre noire, de sorte que vous ne pouvez y étudier les effets produits par les oppositions de lumière. Les tons dominants sont le rouge-brique et un fond blanc jaunâtre. On n'y trouve pas de matériaux précieux. M. Rolland-Banès, ingénieur des Mines, qui a examiné la mosaïque avec moi, m'a assuré que toutes les pierres assemblées pour former les dessins proviennent du pays, et sont par conséquent calcaires en majeure partie. Il y a une douzaine de couleurs, le noir, le blanc, le jaune, le brun, le vert, et des gris et des rouges de nuances différentes. Tous ces fragments sont réunis de la manière la plus heureuse. Quant aux feuillages, ils sont très légèrement indiqués par des lignes gris-violet foncé et clair de manière à ne pas rompre l'harmonie des groupes. Les demi-chevrons des zigzags sont alternativement rouges et jaunes et fortement isolés par des traits noirs. Les rosaces ont un centre blanc, du quel part une croix noire entourée d'un fond rouge avec quelques points

blancs; leurs cercles entrelacés sont en courbes noires sur le fond blanc.

Partout on remarque une certaine irrégularité. En mesurant attentivement les diverses figures géométriques formées par les lignes droites ou courbes, j'ai constaté des différences assez sensibles qu'un mosaïste moderne aurait sans doute soigneusement évité. Mais ces imperfections de détail ne nuisent aucunement à l'effet du morceau.

Je fais appel à vos lumières pour éclaircir la signification des divers tableaux. Il me semble qu'on doit ainsi les comprendre :

*Premier tableau.*—Une statue de Diane, devant laquelle on brûle de l'encens. Un personnage, qui paraît revêtu d'un caractère sacerdotal, semble adresser un discours ou une invocation. Un chasseur prêt à monter à cheval. Auprès de lui un serviteur présente vers la statue une lance et un chien tenu en laisse. De l'autre côté, on amène un cerf qui doit servir d'appât.

*Deuxième tableau.*—Le cerf maintenu précède la chasse. Devant les chiens un personnage porte un objet qui n'a pas peu exercé la sagacité des visiteurs de la mosaïque. M. Eug. Châtel, Secrétaire de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, a cru y reconnaître un falot. En effet des lignes rouges semblent indiquer des rayons de lumière. Derrière les chiens, deux chevaux dont l'un est monté. Le cavalier est muni d'un fouet à tige mince et flexible et à queue très longue, qui tient ici lieu d'éperon pour exciter l'animal.

*Troisième tableau,* au dessous du sujet principal.—Des cavaliers et des chiens galopent pour concentrer la chasse au dernier tableau.

*Quatrième tableau.*—Derrière un bouquet d'arbres, un cerf, une biche et un faon. Un personnage se cache dans les herbes pour faire voir le cerf destiné à attirer les autres. Un point rouge au milieu des feuillages semble indiquer que ceux-ci sont éclairés intérieurement, ce qui justifierait l'interprétation à laquelle j'ai fait allusion en parlant du deuxième tableau. Derrière le cerf maintenu, un chasseur tend son arbalète pour envoyer une flèche aussitôt que l'animal qu'il guette se trouvera dans une position favorable.

Vous le voyez, Monsieur, ces sujets sont assez faciles à interpréter, du moins dans leur signification générale. Il n'en est pas de même du groupe central. Une femme tombe

devant un personnage qui la poursuit. Sa main va s'appuyer sur un objet difficile à déterminer à cause d'un peu d'indécision dans les traits. Après l'avoir examiné longtemps, j'ai cru cependant reconnaître que ce n'est qu'un fragment de tronc d'arbre mis là pour compléter le sujet. Mais il se pourrait bien qu'il en fût autrement.

La question la plus embarrassante est celle des inscriptions. Au moment de la découverte de la mosaïque, M. Bailliard, Conservateur de la Bibliothèque du Havre, et moi, nous étions allés la voir en premier. L'inscription du haut était seule alors mise à nu. M. Bailliard y reconnut aussitôt le nom du mosaïste (Felix ou Felix) et celui de sa ville natale, Pouzzole en Italie. Ce point important établi, nous apprîmes quelques jours après la découverte de la seconde inscription. Un calque m'en fut adressé. C'est celui que vous avez eu sous les yeux. Les personnes qui virent cette seconde inscription n'hésitèrent pas à la rattacher au groupe du centre. On y lut donc, *Amoris discipulus*.

1<sup>er</sup> cartouche,

T.SENFILIX CPV  
TEOLANVSFEC

2<sup>me</sup> cartouche,

ET AMORCF  
DISCIPVLVS

Quoique je n'eusse vu que le calque, je ne pus admettre cette interprétation. Voici un extrait du procès-verbal publié par la Société Havraise quelques jours à peine après la découverte. Vous pouvez y voir de quelle manière je proposai d'expliquer la seconde inscription. Depuis cette publication je suis retourné à Lillebonne, j'ai examiné attentivement les deux séries de caractères, mais mes appréciations ne se sont pas modifiées. Ce qui reste toujours inexpliqué pour moi, la clef de la difficulté, c'est le dernier caractère (r) de la première ligne de la seconde inscription. (*Procès-Verbal*, page 14, ligne 12.)

Le fait principal, et, à mon point de vue, le plus intéressant de cette découverte, c'est qu'il est constaté que l'artiste à qui l'on doit la mosaïque est italien. Il est peut-être un peu trop d'usage de faire honneur des morceaux un peu importants rencontrés dans nos contrées à des artistes grecs, comme si au II<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>1</sup> l'art grec n'avait pas dû devenir romain à Rome et dans les provinces romaines.

<sup>1</sup> Le 2<sup>e</sup> siècle est la date à laquelle je suis amené à reporter la mosaïque de Lillebonne.

Une autre question reste à éclaircir. Quelle pouvait être la destination du bâtiment renfermant ce beau morceau de l'art ancien. Était-ce un pavillon de chasse ou un temple ? D'après les détails qui m'ont été donnés par les personnes qui ont assisté au déblaiement, c'était un édifice dont les murs entouraient presque immédiatement la mosaïque, et rectangulaire par conséquent. Des couches de cendres et de débris calcinés attestaient une ruine due à un incendie. Parmi les débris on rencontra plusieurs figurines en terre cuite montrant ces types bien connus de Latone et de Vénus Anadyomène si souvent rencontrés dans nos pays. Une des statuettes cependant différait. Elle représentait une femme sur la poitrine de laquelle se trouve un cadre renfermant une petite effigie. A ma connaissance on n'a pas encore retrouvé dans notre province de statuette de ce genre.

CH. RÖSSLER.

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EXTRAIT DE LA LETTRE DE M. DE LONGPÉRIER.

A M. CH. RÖSSLER, *Secrétaire de la Société Havraise.*

...Il m'est impossible d'avoir une opinion arrêtée sur les explications relatives aux couleurs. Je ne puis juger du monument que par votre dessin. Il me semble qu'on doit commencer par le tableau du haut :

1°. Le départ. Les chasseurs précédés de leurs chiens et du cerf apprivoisé partent en quête.

2°. Les chasseurs ont attiré, à l'aide du cerf apprivoisé, un troupeau composé d'un cerf et de plusieurs biches.

3°. La chasse à courre; les cavaliers, accompagnés de leurs chiens, poursuivent un cerf (en partie détruit), le cerf, choisi dans le troupeau, suivant l'usage des veneurs.

4°. Le sacrifice à Diane (une Diane nemorensis). La statue de la déesse s'élève sur un piédestal. Les prêtresses sont accompagnées de camilli (enfants de chœur), dont l'un prépare l'encens sur l'autel, et l'autre porte le præfericulum et la patère. Les chasseurs assistent; c'est une sorte de messe de Saint Hubert.

Au centre, un groupe relatif à Apollon frère de Diane et favorable aux chasseurs. Le Dieu atteint une nymphe ou une déesse (Vénus, Amphitrite, Daphné, etc.), qu'il avait poursuivie. Les coupes et les palmes des angles forment des symboles de victoire.

L'ensemble de la composition est tout à fait convenable pour un lieu consacré aux deux enfants de Latone, Apollon, et Diane; et si je n'affirme pas que l'édifice où se trouvait cette mosaïque était un temple ou un sacellum, c'est que j'évite toujours de parler des monuments que je n'ai pas examinés. Or, l'aspect des constructions peut fournir des indications extrêmement utiles.

Il est fort probable que l'objet placé près de la main de la femme atteinte par Apollon est un vase. Mais il faudrait, pour parler plus positivement avoir la mosaïque sous les yeux. Il est fort difficile d'attribuer un nom précis à cette femme. Le groupe rappelle celui qui se voit au centre d'un belle coupe grecque plusieurs fois publiée. (Voir: *Mon. de l'Inst. Archéol.*, t. iii, pl. xii; Lenormant et J. de Witte: *Elite des Mon. Céramogr.*, t. ii, pl. xxii, p. 57. Cf. Raoul Rochette, *Choix de Peint. de Pompéi*, p. 64; et Braun, *Ann. dell' Inst. Arch.*, t. xi, p. 251.)

J'arrive aux inscriptions. Je ne puis pas admettre qu'elles aient rapport aux sujets représentés dans la mosaïque. *Amoris discipulus*, en tant que texte applicable au personnage du centre, me semblerait tout à fait en dehors des usages de l'antiquité. Il y a là une double signature,

T. SEN. FILIX CPV  
TEOLANVS FEC

T. indique toujours Titus. Il n'y a que deux prénoms commençant par T, et Tiberius s'écrit toujours TI. Donc pas de doute possible.

SEN. se transcrit plus difficilement, car on connaît les familles Senaria, Senatia, Senecia, Senesia, Senicionia, Senilia, Sennia, Senovia, Senucia, etc. Il faudrait chercher dans les inscriptions de Pouzzole si l'une de ces familles y était connue.

Quant à FILIX, ce peut être une forme altérée de Felix; mais il n'y a rien d'impossible à ce que le nom de la fougère (Felix) ait servi de surnom. L'échange de l'E et de l'I est fort connu dans les inscriptions; mais c'est là tout ce qu'on peut alléguer en faveur de Felix.

ET AMOR CP  
DISCIPVLVS

Je m'en rapporte à M. Rössler, qui me dit que l'avant-dernière lettre de la première ligne est un C. Je lis donc :

et Amor Gaii filius Discipulus. Amor est un nom d'homme tout aussi connu qu'Eros. Non seulement je l'ai vu dans diverses inscriptions de Rome ; mais je l'ai relevé sur une stèle d'Entrains (Bièvre). C'est la marque de Gaius, prénom antique qui a été écrit CAIVS à l'époque où on écrivait MACISTRATOS (magistratus), c'est à dire alors qu'il n'existait qu'une seule figure pour les lettres c et g. Cette antique et noble figure a été perpétuée par attachement pour les vieux usages. K est une forme de F tout aussi connue que I'. Faute de faire attention à ce détail paléographique, on a quelquefois pris l'F pour un K, ce qui produit des lectures intolérables. On pourrait s'étonner de voir rappeler le prénom (Gaius) du père d'Amor, alors que ce dernier n'est désigné que par son surnom. Mais cela tient à ce qu'Amor était de condition servile. Les recueils de Grutes et de Muratori offrent des exemples de notations semblables. En somme l'inscription totale se lit : Titus Sen... Filix civis Puteolanus fecit, et Amor Gaii filius discipulus.

Titus Sen... Filix était venu de Pouzzole en Gaule, comme les mosaïstes italiens viennent encore chez nous, fait que je m'étais permis de faire remarquer à l'Académie des Inscriptions dès la première communication de M. Ménant, huit jours avant toute autre notice.

Mais il est possible qu'Amor fût natif de Juliobona (Lillebonne), élève de Filix, et qu'il lui ait paru complètement inutile d'indiquer le lieu de sa naissance alors qu'il travaillait dans sa patrie. Dans les inscriptions antiques il est d'usage de n'indiquer que les origines exotiques.

L'inscription, comme je viens de la transcrire, me paraît tellement naturelle que je ne sais pas quelle objection elle peut soulever. M. Rössler lui-même avait deviné qu'Amor était l'élève du mosaïste de Pouzzole. Les quatre tableaux du cadre sont de style romain ; mais le médaillon du centre appartient à l'école grecque telle qu'elle régnait à Herculanium et à Pompéi. Il y a loin de là aux diverses écoles de la Grèce véritablement antique que nous nous appliquons maintenant à distinguer, tout au moins par siècles (depuis le VIII<sup>e</sup> jusqu'à notre ère), et même quelquefois d'une manière plus précise.

Mais Pouzzole avait été une ville grecque avant de devenir colonie romaine ; et d'ailleurs dans l'Italie méridionale le style maniéré de la Grèce défaillante s'est perpétué longtemps.

Le style des Gaules était meilleur à certains égards parce que l'enseignement des modèles grecs d'une bonne époque y avait laissé de fortes traces. Il est à remarquer que les monnaies d'or impériales (par exemple) frappées en Gaule, sont beaucoup plus belles que celles des mêmes princes gravées en Italie. L'art de la Gaule d'origine grecque ne s'est laissé enlaidir que dans une certaine mesure.

LONGPÉRIER.

## ADDENDA TO "FASTI CICESTRENSIS."

BY MACKENZIE E. C. WALCOTT, B.D., F.S.A., PRECENTOR  
AND PREBENDARY OF CHICHESTER.

(Concluded from vol. xxii, p. 154.)

### DEANS.

- ROGER DE FRETON. *Reg Courtenay*, fo. 203.  
 WILLIAM DE LULLINGTON. *Reg. Rede*, fo. 185.  
 JOHN DE MAYDENHITHE, Proloc. of Convoc., 1396; Dean of the Arches, 1401. D. May 31, 1407. He desired to be buried in the midst of the choir of Chichester, or else at Salisbury.  
 JOHN HASELEE, desired to be buried before St. Mary's image. *Reg. Arundel*, 158.  
 RICHARD TALBOT. Archbishop Chichele visited the Cathedral July 9, 1415.  
 JOHN CROUCHER. *Reg. Praty*, 53, 78.  
 JOHN CLOOS. D. Feb. or March, 1501. *Dean's Book*, 65.  
 WM. FLESHMONGER, born at Hambleton, son of a Winchester College tenant.  
 BARTHOLOMEW TRAHERON. For New, read Exeter College.

### PRECENTORS.

- BOGO DE CLARE. Canon; R. of Fordingbridge. *Add. MS.*, Brit. Mus., 6344, fo. 647.  
 1298 JOHN DE S'C'O LEOFARDO. R. of Sculho. *Add. MS.* 6344, fo. 647.  
 1410 JOHN BLOUNHAM. *Reg. Rede*, cxxxiv. *Reg. Praty*, 73 b.

### CHANCELLORS.

- EUSTACE DE LEVELAND. *Lib. X*, fo. lxi.  
 1365 HENRY COKHAM or GOUKHAM. *Reg. Islip*, fo. 207 b.  
 JOHN GERNEMOUTH. Dean of Hastings, 1400. *Add. MS.* 6344, fo. 677

### TREASURERS.

- NICHOLAS. *Lib. Y*, fo. lii<sup>o</sup>, clviiij<sup>o</sup>.  
 1292 Robert de Wystnoston. *Lib. E*, 192.

## ARCHDEACONS OF CHICHESTER.

- 1358 JOHN PIPE. Canon of Lichfield. *Reg. Islip*, fo. 145.  
 HENRY FOLVILLE, exchanged with  
 1370 WILLIAM WARDUN, V. of Bodyngham. *Reg. Wittleseye*, fo. 30.  
 WILLIAM WALESBY. Dean of Hastings, 1436. *Add. MS.* 6344, fo. 667.

## ARCHDEACONS OF LEWES.

- SIMON DE CLYMPYNGHAM. *Lib. V*, fo. liii.  
 WILLIAM DE LYNDICH, Dean of Hastings. *Add. MS.* 6344, fo. 667.

## CANONS AND PREBENDARIES.

- 1223 BLAISE CONELLI, a native of Rome, nominated by P. Honorius III.  
*Add. MS.* 15,352, fo. 189.  
 1292 ROGER DE GRAVA. *Lib. E*, 192.  
 WILLIAM DE BLYTHE, Archdeacon of Norfolk, buried in the Lady Chapel,  
 1373. *Reg. Wittleseye*, fo. 130 a.  
 1376 THOMAS YONGE, L.B. *Reg. Sudbury*, fo. 33 a.  
 C. 1560 EDWARD GADDESHALFE. *Cal. St. Pap. Dom.*, xi, No. 25.  
 BURY.—SIMON ROBSON, V. of Stonhouse. *Cole MS.* xxvii, fo. 24.  
 COLWORTH.—JOHN NOTTINGHAM. *Add. MS.* 6344, fo. 667.  
 „ RICHARD TANGMERE *alias* APPLIEDREHAM, R. of East  
 Havant. *Add. MS.* 15377, fo. 109.  
 „ WILLIAM WINDSOR, Dean of Hastings, 1394. *Add. MS.* 6344,  
 fo. 667.  
 FERRING.—*Lib. Y*, fo. xxxix b.  
 HENFIELD.—1516 GEORGE TRESSILIAN. *Cal. State Papers*, 1777. King's  
 Chaplain.  
 HOVA VILLA.—THOMAS CHICHELE, R. Biggleswade, Oct. 3, 1642; Pro-  
 thonotary of the Apostolic See. *Add. MS.* 6952, fo. 88.  
 IPTHORNE.—1641 EDWARD FULHAM, Chaplain to Bishop Bancroft. V. of  
 Bray and West Hdesley. Died 1695. *Laud's Works*, v, 218.  
 MARDEN.—1390. SIMON RUSSELL, V. of Sutton; Archd. of Chichester.  
 „ 1395. JOHN THOMAS. *MS. Harl.* 6952, fo. 177.  
 SEAFORD.—Founded by Bishop Seffrid.  
 SELSEY.—JOHN DE HARLASTON, Dean of Hastings, 1374. *Add. MS.* 6344,  
 fo. 677.  
 SUTTON.—MICHAEL DE NORTHBURY. *Lib. V*, fo. 1b. R. Hanslap. D.  
 1382. *Reg. Courtenay*, fo. 208.  
 „ HENRY EEDES, PRÆCENTOR.  
 „ WILLIAM SNATT, V. of Cuckfield. Imprisoned in the Marshalsea  
 for absolving Sir W. Parkins and Sir J. Friend on the scaffold, April,  
 1696.  
 WALTHAM.—1373 EDMUND STREETE, B.C.L. R. Merlatt. *Add. MS.*  
 15,377, fo. 316.  
 1870

WALTHAM.—1397 JOHN WOTTON, R. Buckstead and Chorlwood. He bequeathed to each canon for an obit, 3s. 4d., and 4d. each to the thirty vicars.

„ EDWARD WICKHAM, R. of Horton, Preb. of Winchester, Archd. of Dorset. *Cole MS.*, xxvii, fo. 24.

WITTERING.—A Papal Bull requiring the Prebendary to be a theologian, and read lectures in the cloister, is in *Add. MS.* 15,377, fo. 328.

WOODHOUSE.—GILES DE AUDENARDO, Dean of Hastings, 1302. *Add. MS.* 6344, fo. 667.

EXCEIT.—St. James' Hospital, Seaford, was annexed to this Prebend.

The foregoing notes and names will, I trust, make my list complete.

M. E. C. W.

(For index of names, see end of the volume.)

## ON THE DATE OF FOUNDATION ASCRIBED TO THE CISTERTIAN ABBEYS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

BY W. DE G. BIRCH, ESQ.

(Concluded from p. 299.)

To attempt to give any detailed account of the Cistercian order in the limited space of these pages would be impossible, but I will endeavour to condense, as briefly as I may, the leading features of the history of the order,<sup>1</sup> so far as our

<sup>1</sup> In addition to the works which I have had occasion to mention in the course of these pages, the principal notices of the Cistercian order which will be found in our public libraries are likely to interest those desirous of making further researches into the history, I have therefore collected the following titles :

Ang. Manrique, "Annales Cistercienses;" Lugd., 1642-49, 4 vols. folio.

"Exordium Cisterciensis Cœnobii;" M. Bouquet, "Recueil des Historiens des Gaules," tome xiv, 1738, folio.

"Exordium Magnum Ordinis Cisterciensis;" Migne, "Patrologiæ Cursus Completus," tome clxxxv, 1844.

"A Concise History of the Cistercian Order," etc., by a Cistercian Monk; London, Derby, 1852, 12mo.

"Account of the Cistercian Order," probably drawn up by Swithin Adee, M.D., of Guildford. British Museum, Addit. MS. 6172.

"Liber de Initio Cisterciensis Ordinis," Bodleian Library, Oxford; Laud MS. (1130) F. 93 ("Catalogi Librorum MSS. Angliæ et Hiberniæ;" Oxon., 1697, fol.)

D. P. de Nain, "Essai de l'Histoire de l'Ordre de Cîteaux, tirée des Annales de l'Ordre;" Paris, 1696-97, 9 vols. 12mo.

Augustus Sartorius, "Cistercium bis tertium, seu Elogialis Historia Ordinis Cisterciensis;" Pragæ, 1700, 2 vols. folio.

"Etude sur l'Etat intérieur des Abbayes Cisterciennes,.....aux 12e et 13e Siècles," par M. H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, avec la collaboration de M. L. Pigeotte; Troyes et Paris, 8vo.

"Fasciculus Sanctorum Ordinis Cisterciensis," Chrysostomus Henriquez; Bruxelles, 1623, folio.

"Cabinet des Choses Advenues à l'Ordre de Cîteaux," J. d'Assignies; Douay, 1598, 8vo.

John Chessell Buckler, "On the Architecture of the Cistercians in England." Brit. Mus., Addit. MSS. 24,432, 27,763, 27,764, 27,765 (1859-70).



own country is concerned. In the year 1098 some monks of Molesme, in Burgundy, becoming disgusted with the laxity which in long course of years had, together with the increase of riches, invaded the simple rules of St. Benedict,

“Histoire des Ordres Monastiques,” tome v, pp. 341, 373.

Dugdale, “Monasticon Anglicanum,” vol. v, pp. 219-36, Sketch of the Order, and “Relatio qualiter incepit Ordo Cisterciensis,” from the Register of Byland. “De Origine Cisterciensium,” Bodl. Lib., Ant. à Wood, MS. (8615) 2, art. ii, p. 213.

“Notes concerning the Cistercian Order,” Harl. MS. 5190, art. 11.

“Lectionarium Sanctorum...ad Sacri Cisterciensis Ordinis Usum accommodatum.” Vellum. Per Andream Merchan, in Monasterio Vallis Paradisi; 1603, folio.

“Defense des Réglemens faits par les Cardinaux, Archevesques, et Evesques, pour la Reformation de l’Ordre de Citeaux; Paris, 1656, 8vo.

“Histoire Générale de la Reforme de l’Ordre de Citeaux,” tome i. By A. F. Gervaise. Avignon, 1746. (On prétend que tous les exemplaires de ce volume ont été saisis, ainsi que le MS. du second resté inédit. Brunet.)

“Consuetudines Cisterciensium; scilicet Historia de Cisterciensis Cœnobii Exordio, Institutis, & Privilegiis,” etc.; thirteenth century. Brit. Mus., Addit. MS. 18,148.

“Regulæ Monasticæ, seu Constitutiones Ordinis Cisterciensium.” Bodl. Lib., Laud MS. (1270), H. 7.

Herbertus Turritanus, Sardinia Archiepiscopus, “De Monachorum Cisterciensium Raculis.” Brit. Mus., Addit. MS. 15,723, f. 15.

“Liber Usuum Sacri Cisterciensis Ordinis;” Parisiis, 1643, 8vo.

“Ordinale seu Rituale Cisterciensium,” fifteenth century. Harl. MS. 2937.

“Cisterciense Ordinarium” (in the Catalogue of MSS. in Ashburnham House), Paper, fifteenth century, 4to. (B. 488.)

“Ordo ad Monachum Nigrum vel Cisterciensem faciendum Abbatem. Harl. MS. 2886, art. 3.

“Statuta facta in Capitulis Generalibus apud Abbatiam de Cistercio, 1257-88. “Decretum sive Statuta Ordinis Cisterciensis per Abbatem Stephanum... ordinata, cui titulus Carta Caritatis,” thirteenth century. Brit. Mus., Addit. MS. 11,294.

“Statuta Ordinis Cisterciensis compilata annis 1289 et 1300,” fourteenth century. Harl. MS. 3708.

“Libellus Distinctionum, sive Regula seu Statuta Religionis Cisterciensis;” Harl. MS. 948, f. 52.

“Opusculum de Statutis vel Usu Ordinis Cisterciensis,” fourteenth century; Harl. MS. 2931, art. 4.

The Register of Beaulieu, co. Southt., Cotton. MS., Nero A, xii, contains, at p. 153, “Constitutiones fratrum .....” (an erased word, perhaps Cistercian).

“Articuli inquirendi a Reformatore Ordinis Cisterciensis, cum Formula Appellationis.” Brit. Mus., Reg. MS. 12, E, xiv, art. 4.

“Charta Charitatis, sive Decretum Stephani Abbatis et Fratrum suorum, de Regulis ab Abbatibus et Monachis Ordinis Cisterciensis observandis,” thirteenth century. Cotton. MS., Nero A, xi, f. 1-8.

“Carta Caritatis, cum 15 Definitionibus, seu Determinationibus, de Regulis Ordinis Cisterciensis, A.D. 1262.” Harl. MS. 3898.

“Carta Karitatis de Abbatibus Monachorum Ordinis Cisterciensis, cum Prologo, per Stephanum Hardingum Abbatem Cisterciensem;” Harl. MS. 948, f. 43-49.

Copies of several Popes’ Bulls conveying sundry great Privileges to the Cistercian Order; Harl. MS. 2064, f. 384.

Bull of Privileges granted by Pope Lucius III to the Order; Verona. 1184. Cotton. MS., Augustus II, 120.

by which their house professed to be guided, set out to seek a new resting-place, where they might observe, in peaceful solitude, the stricter letter of the religious law laid down by their patron saint. These monks were led by Stephen

Confirmation of the above by King Henry III; Cotton. MS., Nero C. iii, z, f. 183.

Two Bulls of Innocent IV; Lugduni, 5 Kal. Apr. 1249. Cotton. MS., Augustus II, 133, 134.

"Bullæ duæ Honorii et Alexandri Paparum in Favorem Monachorum Cisterciensium;" Cotton. MS., Nero C iii, ff. 184.

"Bulla Alexandri IV et Innocentii Paparum de Juribus Cisterciensis Ordinis conservandis;" Cotton. MS., Vitellius E, v, f. 193.

"Constitutio Clementina de Ordine Cisterciensi, scilicet Clementis IV, Papæ;" Harl. MS. 3898, art. 2.

Copy of a Bull of Clement (IV ?) to the King of Sicily (Charles of Anjou ?) desiring the exemption of the Cistercian monasteries from the tenths being collected in his kingdom of France (1267 ?); written on the last folio of a MS. formerly belonging to the Priory of St. Mary de Caritate. Brit. Mus., Addit. MS. 15,603.

"Exemptio Monasterii Cisterciensis ab omnibus Taxationibus," etc.; Bodl. Libr., Cameron MS. (3608) 142, art. 3.

Note of a Statute, 2 Henry IV, to prevent the religious of the Order of Citeaux from purchasing Bulls to exempt them from ..... taxes. Brit. Mus., Lansd. MS. 446, f. 100.

"Confirmatio, sive Instrumentum, Societatis et Pacis inter Cystercienses et Præmonstratenses, A.D. 1242, 5 idus Oct.;" Harl. MS. 948, f. 49 b.

"Constitutio Capituli Generalis Ordinis Cisterciensis in Diocesi Cantuariensi, ut Monasteria, quæ viginti Monachos et amplius habent, unum mittant ad studendum Oxonii, cum Bursa integra 60 sol. sterlingorum. Dat. A.D. 1292." Reg. MS. 7, D. xv, art. 3.

"Epistola duorum Cardinalium, quos Papa Auditores et Provisores constituebant, de quadam lite orta inter Cistercienses, ex Detentione cujusdam Abbatis, Capitulo Generali relinquenda;" Cotton. MS., Vespasianus A, xxvi, f. 17.

"Anni Foundationum Monasteriorum Cisterciensium ex vetere Codice MS.;" Library of Trinity College, Dublin, MS. 193, art. 41, f. 66.

"Nomina Abbatiarum Ordinis Cisterciensis in Anglia;" Bodl. Libr., Digby MS. (1612) 11.

"Abbatia Cisterciensis Ordinis per totam Angliam;" Bodl. Libr., Dugdale MS. (6515) 25 R, p. 43.

"Nomina quarundam Abbatiarum Ordinis Cisterciensis in Anglia, quarum Abbates adfuerunt apud London coram Domini Papæ Legato, 1312;" Bodl. Libr., Dodsworth MS. (5005), vol. 63, art. 6, f. 77.

John Spotiswood, "Account of ... Religious Houses in Scotland," in Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops; Edin., 1824, 8vo.

Adam de Cardonnell, "Picturesque Antiquities of Scotland;" London, 1788, 8vo. Lists of Cistercian houses at Part I, pp. 12, 23.

Henriquez, in his "Menologium Cisterciense," mentions among his authorities an "Index Sacrarum Ædium Angliæ," and a "Series Religiosarum Ædium Angliæ," but I have never met with them.

"Short Notes of the Foundations, Arms, etc., of various Houses in Great Britain;" Harl. MS. 1499.

"Short List of some Cistercian Houses in Scotland," etc.; Harl. MS. 2363, f. 1.  
"Ex Menologio Cisterciensi a Chrysostomi Henriquez Hostensi edito." Antwerp, 1630. Clarendon Library in Ireland, MS. 42, f. 37.

E. A. Bond, Esq., in the preface to his edition of "Chronica Monasterii de Melsa," and the Rev. H. R. Luard in that of his edition of several "Annales Monastici," give curious and valuable information respecting the order. Each

Harding, a monk of Sherbourne, in Dorsetshire, of whose devotion and energy under hardships attending the establishment of the new rule and infant monastery at Cistercium, a wild and desert spot in the diocese of Chalons, many interesting particulars may be read in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum* (Sir Thomas D. Hardy's edition, vol. ii, pp. 511-517), and the *Life of St. Bernard*, by J. C. Morison Esq. (new edition, 1868, p. 16, *et seqq.*) In a very short space of time the popularity and general favour of the new order, termed Cistercian from the place of its birth, reached an unprecedented height in the history of monachism, and threatened to eclipse the fame of its parent order, from which it differed chiefly in the most scrupulous adherence to the Benedictine statutes. The members attained the greatest excellence in the professions of agriculture, architecture, and, what was an important element even in those days, commerce; they established *granges*, or farms upon their outlying estates, for the more effectual utilisation of the productions of the land; their stately and elaborate style of architecture, combining use with elegance, and avoiding unnecessary display, as evinced in the present day by the ruins of Furness, Melrose, Kirkstall, Fountains, Tintern, and many another abbey, has been alike the wonder and envy of architects; their merchandise of wool and corn was noted for its superiority over that of less assiduous farmers; their especial immunity from taxation, the gift of many a grateful pontiff, was the envy of kings, who sought to obtain by

of these works forms a part of the "Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages." Published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls.

"Some Account of the Alien Priors, and of such Lands as they are known to have possessed in England and Wales." From the MSS. of J. Warburton, Esq., and Dr. Ducarel. By J. Nichols. 2 vols.; London, 1786.

Fosbrooke, "British Monachism."

Tanner, "Notitia Monastica," preface, p. ix.

"Epistola Domni Stephani, Abbatis de Monte Sanctæ Genovefæ, ad eos, qui, de Ordine Grandimontensium egressi, ad Ordinem Cisterciensem in Pontiniaco confugerunt," etc.; Harl. MS. 1762, f. 75 b.

"Ottonis Guercensis Episcopi Epistola ad cunctos Abbates in S. Cisterciensi Capitulo congregatos." Brit. Mus., Addit. MS. 15,621, f. 81 b.

The various publications of the Record Commissioners contain much historical information respecting the Cistercians of Great Britain, as will be seen by an inspection of the indexes of the series.

Other works are cited in Girault de St. Fargeau, "Bibliographie Historique et Topographique de la France." Paris, 1845, 8vo, p. 128; and Gustavus Hænel, "Catall. MS. Libb. qui in Bibliothecis Galliæ, &c., asservantur," 4to, 1830, pp. 1029-1100, and index.

flattery from them what they procured by force and overbearing from other less favoured bodies.

About thirty years after the first institution of the order, two celebrated Abbeys, Furness and Waverly, were established in England; these were quickly followed by Tintern, Rievall, Fountains, and others; and before the close of the twelfth century upwards of one hundred and twenty separate houses, professing to be subject to Cistercian rules, were standing in Great Britain, Melrose taking the first place in the Scottish list, and St. Mary's, Dublin, in that of Ireland. This century was the best period of the order; the abbots enjoyed the confidence of their kings; the possessions of the monks were increased in a marvellous degree by the liberality of a people who admired them for their practical virtues, and emulated their successes in the field, the cloister, and the court. In the thirteenth century about fifty more Cistercian houses were added to the number, a falling off, it is true, compared with the past, but contrasting favourably with the extensions of other religious orders, and to be accounted for by the fact that internal and foreign wars, bankrupt kings, and insatiate church dignitaries had engrossed the funds hitherto at the disposal of the religious-minded nobility of the times. The growing power of the order failed at the end of this century; the next saw but one or two new foundations; in the fifteenth century it ceased altogether. At the dissolution the Cistercian order fared no better than the others, as the privileges and powers it exercised so long and so exclusively enabled it to amass more wealth, so it fell a more welcome prey to the mingled greed and fear of the royal dissolver.

The remarkable list of Cistercian Abbeys, which I had the honour of communicating to the Association in October last, is supplemented by a somewhat similar list in another MS. among the Cottonian Collections in the British Museum. It is written in double columns in a hand contemporary with the last year (1247), which is entered in the series, and contains the names of six hundred and sixty-six houses of the Cistercian order,<sup>1</sup> arranged under the years in which they were founded; the months and days have not been notified by the compiler, a fact which renders this list sub-

<sup>1</sup> Chrysostomus Henriquez, in his *Menologium Cisterciense* (Antv., fol., 1630), does not appear to notice more than two hundred and fifty.

ordinate to the other, although it invites comparison with it on various points. The names of the Abbeys, their number, and ascribed dates of foundation, do not in all cases agree, but are worthy of consideration as new and corroborating evidence respecting the religious houses of Great Britain, about which so much yet remains to be learned.

Unfortunately, the ink in which the MS. was written has contained some substance which has caused the vellum to peel and flake off, and many words have thereby been lost, but reference to my former list will supply most of the missing names.

I have inserted an asterisk before the British houses, as in the previous case. The initial *A*, for *Anglia* or *Anglicana*, and other words in italic type, have been introduced by later hands into the text of the MS.

*Brit. Mus. MS. Cotton., Vespasian A, vi, f. 54b.*

ANNO AB incarnatione domini mxcviii, fundata est domus Cistereij.

mexij	. De Firmitate	mexxiiij	. de Bona Valle Pictav <sup>1</sup>
mexliij	. de Pontiniaco	mexxvj	. de Monte Petroso
mexv	. de Claraualle	„	. de Eberaco
„	. de Morimundo	mexxvij	. de Carraceto
mexviiij	. de Pruliaco	„	. de Jig[nia]co
„	. de Sauniaco	mexxviiij	. de [C]a[la]dia
„	. de tribus Fontibus	„	. de Rigniaco
„	. de Curia Dei	„	. de Bellibeco
mexix	. de Bona Ualle	„	. de Sarnaio
„	. de Cadumo —	„	. de Waln'rib
„	. de Bono Radio	„	. de Castillariis
„	. de Fonte Uete	mexxix	. de Loco Regio
„	. de Mausiabe	„	. de Valle Lucente
„	. de Bella Valle	„	. de Landesio —
mexxx	. Dalonensis	„	. de Colocherio
„	. de Tileto	„	. *de Wauerleya, <sup>1</sup> A.
mexxxj	. de Elemosina	„	. *de Furnesio, <sup>2</sup> A.
„	. de Crista	„	. de Ursi Campo
„	. de Funiaco	mexxxx	. de Fulcardi Monte
„	. de Bono Loco in Lemo- uico	„	. de Rumense
„	. de Oratorio	„	. de Begar
mexxxij	. de Campo	„	. de Sto. Andrea de Gufer
mexxxij	. de Bullio	mexxxx	. de Novo Castro
„	. de Locedio	„	. de Sonxeria Eduenser
„	. de Gundonio —	„	. de Theoleto
mexxxiiij	. de Lucelari	„	. de Sancto Marcello
„	. de Fonte Johannis	„	. de Reuna
„	. de Joiaco	„	. de Mareola
		„	. *de Neth <sup>3</sup> ( <i>in Cambria</i> )

<sup>1</sup> Waverley, co. Surr.

<sup>2</sup> Furness, co. Lanc.

<sup>3</sup> Neath, co. Glamorg.

mexxxxj .	*de Tinterna <sup>1</sup> ( <i>in Cam-</i> <i>bria</i> )	mexxxxiiij .	de Bello Prato
”	. de Caroloco	”	. de Signato
”	. de Bono Monte	”	. de Ponte Oltranni
”	. de Buxeria Andagav’	”	. de Valle Clare
”	. de Scarleis	mcxxxv .	*de Stratford, <sup>1</sup> A.
”	. de Alneto	”	*de Buildewas, A. <sup>2</sup>
”	. de Miratorio	”	*de Gra..... A.
”	. de Longo Ponte	”	. de Longou[il]lar[i]
”	*de Rieualle, <sup>2</sup> A.	”	. de Altecumbe
”	. de Aurea Valle	”	*de Buzeyo, A.
”	. de Sancto Andrea in	”	. de Fossa Nova
”	Janua	”	. de Prato
”	”	”	. de .....alle
mcxxxij .	*de Quararia, <sup>3</sup> A.	mcxxxvj .	de Eue[rba]ch
”	. de Sancto Benedicto	”	*de Melros, <sup>3</sup> A.
”	. de Relath	”	. de [Aci]neto
”	. de Mileroles	”	*de Bufestre, <sup>4</sup> A.
”	. de . . . ce . . . s	”	. de . . . aleene
”	*de Fontanis <sup>4</sup> in Ang-	”	. de . . . ibus
”	lia, A.	”	. de . . . . .
”	*de . . . . . A	”	. de Domo Dei
”	. de . . . . . ca	”	. de Mortuomare
”	. de [Villa]ri	”	*de Sartis <sup>5</sup> ( <i>Wardon</i> ), A
”	. de Fontanis in Teuton’	”	. de . . . . . ape
”	. de . . . . . ie	mcxxxvij .	de Altifonte
”	. de Ro[se]riis	”	*de Coggeshal, <sup>6</sup> [A.]
”	. de Ma[ce]riis	”	. de Co[lumba]
”	. de Vallibus	”	. de A.....
mcxxxijj .	*de [Cumberm]are, <sup>5</sup> A.	”	. de . . . . .
”	. de Sancto Sulpicio	”	. de . . . . .
”	. de Quinciaco	”	. de Ax.....
”	. de Halesbronense	”	. de Lyce..
”	. de ...ri...	”	. de Q.....
”	. de . . . . .	mcxxxvij .	de . . . . .
”	. de Sancta Cruce in	”	. de Scal[a] Dei]
”	Austria	”	. de He . . d . . .
”	. de Bergis	”	. de . . . . .
”	*de Geroldona, <sup>6</sup> A.	”	. de . . . . .
”	. de Caritate in Bissuntu	”	. de Chim . . . .
”	. de . . . . . o	”	. de Alta ri[pa]
”	. de Novo Claustro—	”	. de Baycelle
”	. de No.....o	”	. de Brolio
”	. de Wah . . sirensē	”	. de Aphue
mcxxxiiij .	*de Caldra, <sup>7</sup> A.	mcxxxviij .	de Aurora
”	*de Swinesheu[ed], <sup>8</sup> A.	”	. de Salem
”	*de Mann <sup>9</sup> —	”	*de Dunis <sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tintern, co. Monm.<sup>2</sup> Rievall, co. York.<sup>3</sup> Quarr, I. of Wight.<sup>4</sup> Fountains, co. York.<sup>5</sup> Combermere, co. Chesh.<sup>6</sup> Garendon, co. Leic.<sup>7</sup> Calder, co. Cumberl.<sup>8</sup> Swineshead, co. Linc.<sup>9</sup> Russin, I. of Man.<sup>1</sup> Stratford Langthorne, co. Essex.<sup>2</sup> Buildewas, co. Salop.<sup>3</sup> Melrose, co. Roxburgh.<sup>4</sup> Buckfastleigh, co. Devon.<sup>5</sup> Wardon, co. Bedf.<sup>6</sup> Coggeshall, co. Essex.<sup>7</sup> Keldholm, co. York.

mexxxviii.	de Callonio	mexlij	. *de Pipewelle, <sup>1</sup> A.
„	. de Bello loco Lingon'	„	. de Bono Loco
„	. de Lauaris	„	. de Pinn
„	. de Balanciis	„	. de Caricampo
„	. de Benedictione Dei	„	. de Cliente
„	. *de Bordesleya, <sup>1</sup> A.	„	. de Recluso
„	. *de Bellalanda, <sup>2</sup> A.	„	. de Sacramenia
„	. de Zuetela	„	. de Monte Sancti
„	. *de Novo Monaste-	„	Georgii
	rio, <sup>3</sup> A.	„	. de Porta Gloriæ
„	. *de Kyrkestede, <sup>4</sup> A.	„	. de Victoria
„	. *de Parco lude, <sup>5</sup> A.	„	. de Fonte Vivo
„	. de Clara Silva	„	. de Beythusen
„	. de Ponte Tribie	„	. *de Mellone <sup>2</sup>
„	. de Albinaco	„	. *de Dundrainan <sup>3</sup>
„	. de Syluaia	„	. de Alto Cresto
„	. de Paris in Theuton'	„	. de Superaddo
„	. de Mellebronne	„	. de Bungard in Berga
„	. de Gratia Dei	„	. de Sutela
„	. de Gardo	„	. de Zicrador
„	. *de Kingewode, <sup>6</sup> A.	mexliij	. de Scohburne
„	. *de Sancta Maria juxta	„	. de Lulea in Polonia
	Dublin <sup>7</sup>	„	. de Francarum Vallibus
„	. de Cassamario	„	. de Meyra
„	. de Ripatorio	„	. de Aluastro
„	. de Claro Marisco	„	. de Nova Valle
„	. de Alta Silva	„	. *de Cumhir <sup>4</sup> —
„	. de Herwytheusen	„	. *de Aqua Frigida <sup>5</sup>
„	. de Chemeros —	„	. de Belle Pertica
„	. de Veteri Villa	„	. de Bello Loco
„	. de Cheseriaco	„	. de Sancto Laurentio
mexxl	. De Obbazina	„	. de Phallera
„	. de Mellifonte	„	. de Valleta
„	. de Albadomo —	„	. de Bona Aqua
„	. de Sancto Anastasio	„	. de Zedeliz
„	. *de Newbode <sup>8</sup>	„	. de Spina
„	. de Trapa	„	. de Valrebat
„	. de Campo	mexliiij	. De Loco Sanctæ Mariæ
„	. de Freimund	„	. de Accubacia
„	. de Vrsaria	„	. de Bello Loco in Epi-
„	. de Prato Benedicto	„	scopatu Ruceng'
„	. *de Stanleya in Ar-	„	. de Escure
	derne, <sup>9</sup> A.	„	. de Heriuado
mexlij	. De Berlacurte	„	. de Ratenha Sella
„	. de Sichein	„	. de Oliueto
„	. de Boeriis	„	. de Sconaugia

<sup>1</sup> Bordesley, co. Worc.<sup>2</sup> Byland, co. York.<sup>3</sup> Newminster, co. Northumb.<sup>4</sup> Kirkstead, co. Linc.<sup>5</sup> Louth Park, co. Linc.<sup>6</sup> Kingswood, co. Wilt.<sup>7</sup> Dublin Abbey.<sup>8</sup> Newbottle, M. Lothian.<sup>9</sup> Stanley in Arderne, co. Warw.<sup>1</sup> Pipewell, co. Northt.<sup>2</sup> Mellifont, co. Louth.<sup>3</sup> Dundraynau in Galloway.<sup>4</sup> Combehire, co. Radn.<sup>5</sup> Coldstream, co. Berw. (?)

mexliij	. de Sazeda	mexlvij	. *de Valle Dei in An-
"	. de Grandi Silva		glia, <sup>4</sup> A.
"	. *de Strata	"	. *Monasterio Margona <sup>5</sup>
"	. de Gemundo	"	. *Kyrkestal, <sup>6</sup> A.
"	. de Redasenta	"	. de Valle Richerii
"	. de Siehe	"	. *de Butlesdene, <sup>7</sup> A.
"	. de Valle Bona	"	. *de Brueria, <sup>8</sup> A.
"	. de Plazence	"	. *de Rupe, <sup>9</sup> A.
mexlv	. De Orteburch	"	. *de Saltrea(12 <i>Steph.</i> ) <sup>10</sup>
"	. *de Woburnia, <sup>1</sup> A.		A.
"	. de Cella Sanctæ Mariæ	"	. de Silvæ Caræ
"	. de Ponnicense	"	. de Bone Valle Rutes'
"	. de Ridacheusen	"	. de Thaerio
"	. de Persenia	"	. de Utristal
"	. de Stella	"	. *de Margan, <sup>1</sup> —
"	. de Yrizagio	"	. de Alna
"	. de Mellario	"	. *de Salleya, <sup>2</sup> A.
"	. de Platea	"	. de Sequanæ portu
"	. *de Fonte Frigido <sup>2</sup>	"	. de Faetya
"	. de Gradiz	"	. de Fonte Willelmi
mexlvj	. de Hersiuc	"	. *de Bullione
"	. de Valdrespac, A.	"	. de Clariana
"	. de Columpna	"	. de Rivo Sicco
"	. de Riddegesc	mexlvvij	. De Warans
"	. de Lisa Norwagiæ	"	. de Bongard
"	. de Sancto Justo	"	. *de Rutfort, <sup>3</sup> A.
"	. de Lapide Sancti Mi-	"	. de Heland
"	chaelis	"	. de S . . . . ro
"	. de Hilaria	"	. *de Merivalle, <sup>4</sup> A.
"	. *de Bozeleia, <sup>3</sup> A.	"	. *de Buellio, <sup>5</sup> —
"	. de Casteileola	"	. de Sinaqua
"	. de Sana Valle in	"	. de Sancto Placentio
"	Venicia	"	. *de Mag[io] <sup>6</sup>
"	. de Halsebroune	"	. *de Valle Salutis <sup>7</sup>
"	. de Pomoc	"	. de Galersi
"	. de Villari Leodiens'	"	. de Sora
"	. de Alba	mexlix	. De Fo . . . . uiriniaco
"	. de Sedich	"	. de Albis Petris
"	. de Linda	"	. [de Tirim]el
"	. de Riterio	"	. [*de Beat]itudine <sup>8</sup>
"	. de Berola	"	. de . . . lo . . .
mexlvij	. *De Valle D . . re, A.	"	. de Va[lle re]gis
"	. de Honderia	"	. *de Sibetona, <sup>9</sup> A.

<sup>1</sup> Woburn, co. Belf.<sup>2</sup> Coldstream, co. Berw. (?)<sup>3</sup> Boxley, co. Kent.<sup>4</sup> Vaudey, co. Linc.<sup>5</sup> Margan, co. Glamorg. (?)<sup>6</sup> Kirkstall, co. York.<sup>7</sup> Bitlesden, co. Buck.<sup>8</sup> Bruerne, co. Oxf.<sup>9</sup> Roche, co. York.<sup>10</sup> Sawtrey, co. Kent.<sup>1</sup> Margan, co. Glamorg.<sup>2</sup> Sawley, co. York.<sup>3</sup> Rufford, co. Nott.<sup>4</sup> Mereval, co. Warw.<sup>5</sup> Boyle, co. Roscommon.<sup>6</sup> Nenay, co. Limerick.<sup>7</sup> Baltinglass, co. Wicklow.<sup>8</sup> Bectif, co. Meath.<sup>9</sup> Sibton, co. Suff.

mclxix	. de Longo Vado	mclij	. de Sanctis Crucibus
"	. de Burlencort	"	. de Rota Oscariensi
"	. de Vtrina Valle	mclijj	. De Monte Rami
"	. de Andrea	"	. de Petrosa
"	. de Capite Aqua	"	. de Castellione
"	. de Turbis Sarom'	"	. de Moris
mcl	. De Vernem	"	. *de Gueclande, <sup>6</sup> A.
"	. de Casa Nova	"	. *de Tileteya, <sup>7</sup> A.
"	. *de Cumba, <sup>1</sup> A.	"	. de Populeti
"	. de Rosa Valle	mclijij	. *De Ky[rie]leys[on] <sup>8</sup>
"	. de Cunis, —	"	. *de Stanleya, <sup>9</sup> A.
"	. de [Cus]todia	"	. de Bonifonte in Teras- cha
"	. *de Melsa, <sup>2</sup> A.	mclv	. De Burnesbac
"	. de Insula Sanctæ Mariæ	"	. de Felicitate
"	. *de [Jo]rawalle, <sup>3</sup> A.	mclvi	. De Ne
"	. *de Benedictione Dei in Hibernia	"	. de Voto
"	. de Sancto [. . .] h'o in Bosco	"	. de Palatio
"	. de Sancto Martino de Monte Vicel ;	mclvij	. De Bellimonte
"	. de Porta Glonii	"	. de Bilhildeheusen
"	. de Vlt'co	"	. de Speciosa Valle
"	. de . . . acta Plana	"	. de Pariniaco
"	. de Valle Magna	mclvijj	. De Vitæ Scola
"	. de . . . uberis	"	. *de Deulacresse, <sup>1</sup> A.
mcli	. De Insula Barriducis	"	. de Porta Cæli
"	. de Helorano	mclix	. De Boschamo
"	. de Caro Loco	mclx	. De Mathinæ in Sam- bucina
"	. de Ponte Alto	"	. *de Sconedale <sup>2</sup>
"	. *de Kinlos <sup>4</sup>	mclxj	. De Salutatione [Dei]
"	. de Misericordia Dei	"	. de Sancto Salvatore de Monte Arma . .
"	. de Erameda	mclxij	. De Soram
"	. de Campania	"	. de Tuta Valle
"	. *de Holmcoltthran, <sup>5</sup> A.	"	. de Ripensten
"	. de Villa Longa	"	. de Cassania
"	. de Esrom	"	. de Palatio Sanctæ Mariæ
mclij	. De Claromonte	"	. de Bono Loco Burdegal <sup>7</sup>
"	. de Bello Fonte	"	. de Armamentariis
"	. de Candelio	"	. de Castellariis
"	. de Bella Brachia	mclxijj	. De Luca
"	. de Gracia Dei	"	. de Lubes
"	. de Morolia	mclxiiij	. *De Stratflur <sup>3</sup> ( <i>in</i> <i>Cumbria</i> )
"	. de Cambonia	"	. *de Cupro <sup>4</sup>
"	. de Laude	"	

<sup>1</sup> Combe, co. Warw.<sup>2</sup> Meaux, co. York.<sup>3</sup> Jervaux, co. York.<sup>4</sup> Kinloss, co. Moray.<sup>5</sup> Holm-Cultram, co. Cumberl.<sup>6</sup> Whiteland, co. Carmarth.<sup>7</sup> Tiltey, co. Essex.<sup>8</sup> Kyrielyson in Momonia, *i. e.*, Munster in Ireland.<sup>9</sup> Stanley, co. Wilts.<sup>1</sup> Dieulacres, co. Staff.<sup>2</sup> Saundell in Cantire (?).<sup>3</sup> Stratflour, co. Card.<sup>4</sup> Cupar, co. Forfar.

mclxiiij	. de Cuthnalie	mclxxij	. de Baliezes
"	. de Domo Sanctæ Mariæ, Morimund'	"	. de Dargon
"	. de Villa Longa	"	. de Inphioma
"	. de Crucibus	"	. de Insula Dei
"	. de Bona Valle, Mori- mund'	"	. *de Benedona in An- glia, <sup>5</sup> A.
mclxv	. De Dorbellio	"	. de Sancto Bartholomeo
"	. de Claro Campo	"	. de Loco Benedicto
"	. de Clara Insula	"	. de Buzeto
"	. de Caramfasta	mclxxiiij	. De Spiritu Sancto in Panormio
"	. de Parisiense	"	. de Ulmeto
mclxvj	. De Grosso Bosco	"	. de Loci Dei in Dacia
"	. de Bona Cumba	"	. de Valle Honesta
mclxvii	. *De Aqua Frigida <sup>1</sup>	"	. de Coratio
"	. de Gir . . . . .	mclxxiiij	. De Valle Sancti Lau- rentii
"	. de . . y . . rus	"	. de Turincia in Pam- pelona
"	. de . . ar . osolio	"	. de Turru Aquilari
"	. de . . . . .	"	. de Collaz
mclxviiij	. De Ducis Valle	"	. de Saya, —
"	. *de Sancto Leonardo <sup>2</sup>	mclxxv	. De Cella Sanctæ Mariæ
mclxix	. De Casali Gualonis	"	. de Capella Tosan
"	. de Burio	"	. de Oliva
"	. de Valle Virida ( <i>sic</i> )	"	. de Onila
"	. de Vincaua in Galec'	mclxxvj	. *De Ponte Roberti, <sup>6</sup> A.
"	. de Sancto Johanne	"	. de Barhereio
"	. de Fullaunt	"	. *de Cumhir, <sup>7</sup> —
"	. de Sancta Maria de Palaciol'	"	. de Longaualle
mclxx	. *De Stratinarhal, <sup>3</sup> —	"	. de Rocadia
"	. de Saltu Novalle	mclxxvij	. De Valle Ecclesiarum
"	. de Daberau	"	. de Silio
"	. de Venerio de Vilerin'	"	. de Gradiacense
"	. *de Castro Dei <sup>4</sup>	"	. de Sancto Mauricio
"	. de Victoria	"	. de Moac
"	. de Bello Loco Lingon'	mclxxviiij	. De Valle Sanctæ Mariæ
"	. de Sancto Petro de Aquil'	"	. de Sancto Adriano in Patraz
"	. de Cena Sanctæ Mariæ	"	. *de Samaria <sup>8</sup>
"	. de Roth	mclxxix	. De Egrius
"	. de Florano	"	. de Ferrariis in Terra La
mclxxj	. De Sancto Sebastiano Catac'b'	"	. de Camina
"	. de Sancta Maria de Ferrar	"	. de Siloa
"	. de Monte Oliveti	mclxxx	. De Valle Dei in An- devia
"	. de Nucharua	"	. de Ripa Alta
mclxxij	. De Bona Reque		

<sup>1</sup> Goldstream, co. Berw. (?)<sup>2</sup> St. Leonard's, co. Perth (?).<sup>3</sup> Stratmargel, co. Montgom.<sup>4</sup> Fermoy, co. Cork.<sup>5</sup> Bindon, co. Dors.<sup>6</sup> Robertsbridge, co. Suss.<sup>7</sup> Cumber, co. Down.<sup>8</sup> Astrath, co. Donegal.

mcLxxx	. *de Choro Sancti Benedicti <sup>1</sup>	mcLxxxviiij.	de Sala in Tuscia
„	. *de Jeriponte <sup>2</sup>	„	. de Ribeto
„	. de Monte Sancti Petri	mcxc	. de Albarona
„	. *de Laternam <sup>3</sup> ( <i>in Cumbria</i> )	„	. De Reneweld
mcLxxxj	. De Sacra Cella	„	. *de Glenlus <sup>9</sup>
mcLxxxij	. *De Portu Sanctæ Mariæ <sup>4</sup>	„	. de Loco Dei in Pontino
„	. de Buccam	„	. de Lonopor
„	. de Valle Dei juxta Leodium	„	. *de Colle Victoriæ <sup>1</sup>
mcLxxxiiij	. De Leuim	„	. de Sectia
mcLxxxiiij.	De Pelisio	mcxcj	. De Pastuch
„	. de Valle Benedicta	„	. de Huluesti
„	. de Sancto Gotardo	„	. de Flaga
„	. de Dulesburch	„	. de Gratia Sanctæ Mariæ
„	. de Benedictione Dei in Vasconia	mcxcij	. de Ozzec
mcLxxxv	. De Capella	„	. de Domo Sanctæ Mariæ
„	. de Copidiceniz	mcxcij	. De Rus
„	. de Campo Sanctæ Mariæ	„	. de Sancto Bernardo
„	. de Sancta Trinitate	„	. de Bynyc
„	. de Oya	„	. de Valle Sancti Egidii
mcLxxxvj	. *De Aberconou <sup>5</sup> ( <i>in Cumbria</i> )	„	. *de Valle Lucis <sup>2</sup>
„	. de Mazaria	„	. de Gutholim, —
„	. de Oliva in Ganzo	mcxciiij	. *De Jugo Dei in Hibernia <sup>3</sup>
mcLxxxvij.	*De Ynes <sup>6</sup>	„	. De Asilo
„	. de Valle Sancti Lamberti	mcxcv	. de Sancto Galgano
„	. de Sancta Trinitate de Reseth	„	. *De Petra <sup>4</sup>
„	. de Valle Crescentis	„	. de Casa nova in pn'ne
„	. de Campania in Cenoma <sup>7</sup>	„	. de Sancto Vrbano
„	. *de in Aulisburgh ( <i>Angl.</i> )	mcxcvj	. De Oliua
„	. de Ponte tribie	„	. de Tolesa in Apula
mcLxxxviiij.	*De Crokesdene, <sup>7</sup> A.	„	. *de Wiresda <sup>5</sup>
„	. *de Kairlion <sup>8</sup> ( <i>in Cumbria</i> )	mcxcviiij	. De Monte Sanctæ Mariæ Bisunt <sup>7</sup>
„	. de Barona	„	. de Ponte
„	. de Hehnhn'sen	„	. de Aqua Formosa in Arneburc
„	. de Valle Sancti Petri	mcxcviiij	. de Monte Sanctæ Mariæ in Hung <sup>7</sup>
		mcxxviiij	. de Valle Lucida
		„	. de Valle Florida
		„	. de Valle Dei in Hispania
		mcxcix	. *de Kemer <sup>6</sup> ( <i>in Cumbria</i> )
		„	. de Bradelare

<sup>1</sup> Middletown, co. Cork.<sup>2</sup> Jerpoint, co. Kilkenny.<sup>3</sup> Llantarnam, co. Monm. <sup>4</sup> In Leinster.<sup>5</sup> Aberconway, co. Carnarv.<sup>6</sup> Ines-courcey, co. Down.<sup>7</sup> Croxden, co. Staff.<sup>8</sup> Caerlion, co. Monm.<sup>9</sup> Glenluce, co. Galloway.<sup>1</sup> Knockmoy, co. Galway.<sup>2</sup> Glenluce, co. Galloway (?).<sup>3</sup> "In Ultonia." <sup>4</sup> Corcumroe, co. Clare.<sup>5</sup> Wiresdale, co. Lanc.<sup>6</sup> Kemner, co. Merion., or Comerer in Ulster.

mexcix	. de Chamer	mcciiij	. de Sancto Georgio
"	. *de Voto in Hibernia	"	. de Jubino in Montana
"	. de Hero Insulæ	"	. de Lauro in Grecia
"	. *de Valle Crucis <sup>1</sup> ( <i>in Cambria</i> )	"	. de Sanctis Angelis
"	. de Flumine Dei	mcccxv	. de Loco Sanctæ Mariæ
[mccj]	. *de Dunekewelle, <sup>2</sup> A.	"	. de Hodelo
"	. de Ripa Alta	"	. de Sancto Spiritu in Apulia
"	. de Brolio Gelandi	mcccxvij	. de Sancto Seruano
"	. de Monte Sero	mcccxvij	. *de Dere <sup>8</sup> in Hibernia
mccij	. de Villa Nova de Brome	"	. de Sancto Bartholomeo
"	. de Linlenweld	"	. de Sancto Martino in Reatina
"	. de Keiz	"	. de Sancta Maria in Wegia
mccij	. de Sagittario	"	. *de Der <sup>9</sup>
"	. de Aqua Longa	"	. *de Hultone <sup>1</sup>
mcciiij	. *de Bello Loco Regis Angliæ, <sup>3</sup> A.	"	. *de Sancto Paulo
"	. *de Valle Sancti Salvatoris <sup>4</sup>	mccxxj	. de Clara Tumba
"	. de Fonte Danielis	mccxxij	. de Sta. Maria in Scipio
"	. de Sancto Cristoforo	mccxxij	. *de Fonte Claro <sup>2</sup>
mccv	. de Paclul' in Sardinia	mccxxiiij	. de Lauascense
"	. de Wellegrad	"	. *de Albo Tractu <sup>3</sup>
"	. *de Wequieny <sup>5</sup>	"	. de Saracusano
"	. de Rocca Matura in Sicilia	mccxxv	. de Ruphini
mccvj	. de Sancto Thoma in Venicia	mccxxvj	. *de Gratia Dei <sup>4</sup> in Anglia ( <i>viz kal. Maii</i> ), A.
"	. de Campo Liliorum	"	. de Heuriton' in Polonia
"	. de Monte Feri	"	. *de Sancto Edwardo <sup>5</sup> in Scotia
mccvij	. de Tuta Insula in Norvagia	mccxxvij	. de Regali Monte
mccviiij	. de Topliz	"	. de Cena
"	. de Arbona Reatin'	"	. de Lubens
"	. de Dunemunda	mccxxix	. de Sancta Trinitate in Brundolo
mccix	. de Bardona	"	. de Pietate Dei
"	. de Dargon	mccxxx	. de Plani
mccxj	. de Sancta Maria de Caritate in Apula	"	. de Caua
"	. *de Medmeham, <sup>6</sup> A.	"	. de Valentia
mccxij	. de Escarp	mccxxxj	. de Sancto Stephano de Cornu
mccxiiij	. *de Grandhard <sup>7</sup> in Hibernia	"	. de Grandi Prato
"	. de Granath	mccxxxij	. de Honesta Valle in Hungaria
"	. de Sancta Maria in Eurciaco	"	. de Tribus Fontibus in Hungaria

<sup>1</sup> Llanegwast, co. Denb.<sup>2</sup> Dunkeswell, co. Devon.<sup>3</sup> Beaulieu, co. Hamp.<sup>4</sup> Graignemanagh, co. Kilkenny.<sup>5</sup> Abbingdon, co. Limerick.<sup>6</sup> Medmenham, co. Buck.<sup>7</sup> Lerha, co. Longford.<sup>8</sup> Derry, co. Derry.<sup>9</sup> Deer, co. Aberdeen.<sup>1</sup> Hulton, co. Staff.<sup>2</sup> In Ireland.<sup>3</sup> Tracton, co. Cork.<sup>4</sup> Grace-Dieu, co. Leic.<sup>5</sup> Balmerinloch, co. Fife.

mccxxxiiij . de Novo Campo	mccxxxvij . de Loco Sancti Bern-
„ . de Fonte Sanctæ Mariæ	„ . nardi
„ . de Bethania	„ . de Paroallo
mccxxxiiij . de Sancto Augustino in	„ . de Inolera
„ . Monte Alto	„ . *de Loco Beati Ed-
„ . de Sancto Salvatore	„ . wardi in Anglia, <sup>1</sup> A.
„ . Montis Acroz	„ . de Ludimer
„ . de in Walcano	mccxli . de Claritate Dei
„ . de Cesarea	„ . de Portu Sanctæ Mariæ
„ . de Coronato	mccxlij . Vallis Delbona
„ . de Loco Deo Ruth —	mccxliij . Sanctæ Mariæ in dio-
„ . Loci Crescentis	„ . cesi Verdensi
mccxxxv . de Lonifazano	mccxlv . de Ysubagehen
„ . de Grunhagen	mccxlvij . *de Heyles <sup>2</sup> in Anglia, A
„ . de Sancto Sergio	„ . *de Neuham <sup>3</sup> in Ang-
mccxxxvj . de Paradiso	„ . lia, A.
	„ . de Jerusalem

*Istarum ætas nescitur :*

De Sancto Servatio	De Lauro in Grecia
De Plani	De Sancta Cruce in Hungaria
De Valentia	De Canonica Almaphiæ
De Novo Campo	De Sancta Maria de Placedis in
De Herunagen	„ Roma
De Sancto Georgio de Monte In-	De Sancta Maria de Insula Porciana
„ grat'	Sancti Spiritus de Sampnino

Another list of Cistercian houses in Great Britain occurs in MSS. Cott. Titus, c. x, f. 44, and Vitellius, c. ix, f. 231b—232. These are written upon paper in a hand very closely resembling that of William Camden, and appear to be copies of an earlier list, with additions here and there interpolated. The names of the houses are arranged according to counties, and the patron saint and founder's name has been, in most cases, added to them.

IN COMITATU CANTLE : Boxley, Sanctæ Mariæ, Willelmus de Iprensis Flander comes Cantii.

In Comitatu Southsexia: De Ponte Roberti, Sanctæ Mariæ, Aluredus de Sancto Martino.

In Comitatu Surria: Wauerley, Sanctæ Mariæ, Guilelmus Episcopus Wintoniensis.

In Comitatu Southamptonia: Beaully, id est Bellus Locus, Rex Joannes; Winteney, Sanctæ Mariæ, Virgines.

In Vecti Insula—In ye Isle of Wight: Quadrara, Baldwinus Comes Devonæ.

In Comitatu Wiltonia: Stanley, Sanctæ Mariæ.

In Comitatu Dorcestria: Bindon, vel Stokwood; Camestenc, Virg.

<sup>1</sup> Netley, co. Hamp.

<sup>2</sup> Hayles, co. Glouc.

<sup>3</sup> Newenham, co. Devon.

In Comitatu Devoniae : Ford, Sanctae Mariae, Adeliza filia Baldwini de Okehampton ; Bukfestre, Sanctae Mariae ; Bukland, Amicia Comitissa Devoniae ; Newenham, Reginaldus de Mohun ; Dunkeswell, Guilielmus de Brueria.

In Comitatu Essexiae : Coggeshall, Sanctae Mariae, Rex Stephanus ; Stratford, Guilelmus de Montefixo ; Chiche, Petri, Pauli, et Sanctae Edburgae, Richardus Episcopus Londoniensis.

In Comitatu Norfolthiae : Sholdham, Sanctae Crucis, Virg.

In Comitatu Suffolciae : Edwardstow, Locus Sancti Edwardi, Petrus de Rupibus Episcopus Wintoniensis ; Sibeton, Guilielmus Cheney.

In Comitatu Lincolniae : Reuesby, Sanctae Mariae, Guilielmus de Romara ; Lude parke, alias Louthe parke, Sanctae Mariae ; Kirkstede, Sanctae Marie, Hugo Brito ; Swinesheved, Sanctae Mariae, Robertus Grisley ; Vallis Dei, Valdieu, Sanctae Mariae, Gilbertus Gaunt Comes Lincolniae.

In Comitatu Leicestriae : Gerendon ; Combe, Sanctae Mariae ; Gratia Dei, Rosia de Verdon.

In Comitatu Northamptoniae : Pipewell, Sanctae Mariae, Guilielmus de Botevill.

In Comitatu Huntingdoniae : Saltreia, Sanctae Mariae, Symon de Sancto Lizio Comes Huntingdoniae.

In Comitatu Bedfordiae : Wardon, Sanctae Mariae, Rex Henricus Primus ; Woburne, Hugo de Bulbeck.

In Comitatu Oxoniae : Tama, Alexander Episcopus Lincolniae ; La Bernere, Sanctae Mariae, Nicholaus Basset ; Locus Regalis, sive Reuly, Edmundus Comes Cornubiae, 1276.

In Comitatu Gloecestriae : Flakesley, Rogerus Comes Herefordiae ; Kingswood, Sanctae Mariae, R. Barkley de Guresley ; Hailes, 1246, Edmundus Rex Romanorum, Comes Cornubiae.

In Comitatu Wigorniae : Bordesley, Sanctae Mariae, Rex Henricus Secundus.

In Comitatu Herefordiae : Dore, Sanctae Mariae, Robertus Baro Ewyas ; Acorneburie, Sanctae Katharinae, Lingbrocke, Virgines.

In Comitatu Buckinghamiae : Bordesley, Matildis Imperatrix ; Bidldesden, Arnoldus de Bosco.

In Comitatu Salopiae : Buldewas, Sanctae Mariae, Rogerus Episcopus Cestriae.

In Comitatu Cestriae : Valle Regalis, Rex Edwardus primus ; Cumbermer, Willielmus de Maldebeng.

In Comitatu Warwici : Bordesley, Sanctae Mariae ; Stonley, Sanctae Mariae, Henricus Secundus Rex ; Combe, Sanctae Mariae, R. Camvile ; Mereval, Sanctae Mariae, Robertus Comes de Ferraris ; Pinley.

In Comitatu Staffordiae : Crokden, Theobaldus Verdon ; Hulton, Baro Audley ; Delacress, Ranulphus tertius Comes Cestriae.

In Comitatu Nottinghamiae : Rufford in Shirwood, Dominus de Belomonte ; Bellavill, Joannes de Cantilupo.

In Comitatu Eboracensi : Melsa, Sanctae Mariae in Holderness, Guilelmus Grossus sive Crassus, Comes Albermarl ; Beyland, Sanctae Mariae, Robertus Mowbray ; Riuaux, Sanctae Mariae, Walterus Espeake ; Roche, Sanctae Mariae, Baro Clifford ; Salley, Sanctae Mariae, Guilielmus de Percy, 1319 ; Kertestall, Sanctae Mariae, Henricus Lacy, 1147 ; Founteyne, Sanctae Mariae, Thurstanus Archiepiscopus Eboracensis ; Gervaux alias Jorvallis, Sanctae Mariae, Stephanus Comes Britanniae et Richmondiae.

In Comitatu Lancastriæ: Wiresdale; Calder, Dominus de Copland.

In Comitatu Cumberlandiæ: Holmecultran, David Rex Scotorum.

In Comitatu Middlesexiæ: Nova Abbatia juxta Turrem London., Edwardus tertius, 1359.

In Comitatu Monmouth: Mon-muth.

In Comitatu Northumbriæ: Alba-landa sive Blanc...; Novum Monasterium, Rogerus .....

*In Wallia.*

In Episcopatu Sancti Davidis: Blanka landa, Sanctæ Mariæ; Strata Florida, id est Vallis Florida, vulgo Stratfleure, Sanctæ Mariæ, Griffinus Rhesi; Comhir, hoc est Vallis Longa; Lanlieir; Neath, Richardus de Grenvill; Morgan, Guilielmus Comes Glocestriæ.

In Episcopatu Landavensi: Car-leon; Tinterna.

In Episcopatu Sancti Assaph: De la Pole, vulgo Walchpoole; De Valle Crucis; De Strata Marcelli, vulgo Stramargill, Owenus filius Griphini; Conway; Hindham, Virgines.

In Episcopatu Bangor: Kinnere, Leolinus filius Geruatii; Arberlmagh; Basingwerk, Henricus secundus Rex; Insula Henlis; Cunisnoc, Virgines.

I take the opportunity to append here an interesting scheme originally drawn up to illustrate the derivation of the Cistercian houses of Great Britain, existing in two copies in the Cottonian MS., Titus, c. x, folios 43 and 46, and in Vitellius, c. ix, f. 225. They are written in hands of the seventeenth century.

Cistercium, 1098...	Bellus Locus, Regis...	Locus S. Edwardi, (Joh.), 1204	v. c. Nataleogh, <sup>1</sup> Hayles, Newham sive Newenham, 1246
"	...Regalem Locum juxta Oxon.		
Elemosyna, 1121...	Waverleia, 11[28]	...Gerondon	...Bordesley, Bitlesden, Bruer
"	"	Forda	
"	"	Tama	...Byndun
"	"	Cumba	...Dunkenwell
"	...Tintern	...Kingswood	
Alnetun, 1131	...Crokisden, 1179	...	
Clarevall, 1115	...Fontan, 1132	...Novum Monasteri- um, 1111	...Rupem, Pippwell, Salleia
"	"	Kirkestall, Salegh, Melsa, 1250; Kirkstead, 1250; Pare de Lude; Vallis Dei, 1274	
"	"	Wooburn	...Medmeham

<sup>1</sup> The following note is written in a similar hand in the first copy, folio 43: "Hoc, quod prius Nataleogh dictum, fundari jussit Petrus de Rupibus, Episcopus Wintoniensis in testamento, et Locus Edwardi dici. Edwardstow in Suffolk. Vide an non Nataleod Rex ibi occisus. Vide Huntingdon, p. 179 b. Edwardstow prope Sudbury ad Orientem."

Clarevall, 1115	...Morgan, 1147		
"	Blanchland, 1131	...Stratflure	...Abercun, Carleon, Pole
"	"	Stramargan	...Vallis Crucis
"	"	Cumhir	...Kermer
"	Rhievall, 1131	...Dumdraynan	...Glenlus
"	"	Melros, 1137	...Newbotle in Sco- tia, Holmcult- ram, Cupre, Kin- loss, Kulros, Der, Balmerinoch
"	"	Revesby	...Clive, 1240
"	"	Rufförd, 1247	
"	"	Wardon, 1236	...Saultrey, Sibeton, Tiltehay
"	Boxley, 1130	...Pons Roberti	
Sauguinacum,	...Quarrera, 1129	...Stanley	
"	[1118 Fourness, 11[27]	...Cauder, Swinehead	
"	Coggeshall, 1140 ;		
"	Stratford, 1140		
"	Belleland, 1138	...Jorevall, 1150	
"	Burcester, 1136		
"	Cumbermer, 1136	...Delacress, Stanlaw, Hilton	
"	Neth, 1130		
"	Buldwas, 1138	...Basingwerk	
Monemouth, 1125	Dore, 1267	...Gratia Dei	

Hæ<sup>1</sup> sunt filiæ Fournesii:—Monasterium de Caldra fundatum est 1134; de Swinsheued, Anno Domini 1148; de Castro Dei in Hibernia, Hibernice Fermoy, 1170; de Insula, i. e. Jnes ibidem, 1180; de Sancta Cruce ibidem, Hibernice Wethirlugh'n, 1180; de Petra fertili ibidem, Hibernice Corkenruth, 1197; de Russin in Mannia, 1238; de Surio in Hibernia, Hibernice Yneselughnaght, 1240.

The Cistercian rule was introduced into Ireland in 1139, in which year the Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary, Dublin, embraced the stricter tenets of the reformed order; nearly thirty separate houses had been established throughout the island before the close of the century. In the following table, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. T. French, Librarian, transcribed from an unique collection of materials for the history of Ireland in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin (MS. E. 3, 8), the foundation date, name, province, and amount contributed to Cîteaux, the head monastery of the order, are entered in order, and by its means we obtain a synoptical view of the state of the Cistercian order in the island. This table appears to have been copied from an older manuscript in the early part of the eighteenth century, and may possibly have formed part of Ware's Collections. Most of the dates correspond with

<sup>1</sup> This concluding paragraph is omitted in the Titus copies.

those marked in the previous lists, but some few names have been omitted by accident at the time of preparation.

ANNI foundationum Monasteriorum Cisterciensium Hiberniæ et Contributiones eorum Antiquæ, ex vetere Codice MS. de Statutis, Bullis, et aliis rebus Ordinis Cisterciensis Hiberniæ :

1139. Sanctæ Mariæ Dublin. Fingall. *xxs.*  
 1142. De Mellifont. Uriell. *xxs.*  
 1148. De Beatitudine. Midd. *xiijs. iiijd.*  
 — De Valle Salutis. Lagenia. *xiijs. iiijd.*  
 — De Buellio. Conacia. *xiijs. iiijd.*  
 — De Magio. Momonia. *xs.*  
 1152. De Benedictione Dei. (*Blank.*) *vjs. viijd.*  
 1153. De Viridi Ligno. Ultonia. *vjs. viijd.*  
 1154. De Kyrielyson. Momonia. *ijjs. iiijd.*  
 1159. De Surio. Momonia. *xs.*  
 1170. De Castro Dei. Momonia. *ijjs. iiijd.*  
 1172. De Fonte Vivo. Momonia. *vjs. viijd.*  
 1179. De Samerio. Ultonia. *ijjs. iiijd.*  
 1180. De Jeripont. Lagenia. *xiijs. iiijd.*  
 — De Choro Benedicti. Momonia. *ijjs. iiijd.*  
 1181. De Sancta Cruce. Momonia. *vjs. viijd.*  
 1182. De Portu Sanctæ Mariæ. Lagenia. *xiijs. iiijd.*  
 1183. De Lege Dei. Lagenia. *viijs. viijd.*  
 1188. De Inis. Ultonia. *xiijs. iiijd.*  
 1189. De Rosea Valle. Lagenia. *vjs.*  
 1190. De Colle Victoriæ. Conacia. *xiijs. iiijd.*  
 1193. De Jugo Dei. Ultonia. (*Blank.*)  
 1198. De . . . . mor (*Comber alias Comerer.*) Ultonia. *vjs. viijd.*  
 1200. De Tintern. Lagenia. *xiijs. iiijd.*  
 — De Petra Fertili. Momonia. *vjs. viijd.*  
 — De *Kilrowl.* Momonia. *vjs. viijd.*  
 — De Kilbegan. Middia. *vjs. viijd.*  
 — De Sancto Salvatore. Lagenia. *xiijs. iiijd.*  
 1205. De Wethnia. Momonia. *xiijs. iiijd.*  
 — De Granard. (*Blank.*) *vjs. viijd.*  
 — De Bello Cant'. (*Blank.*) *xiijs. iiijd.*  
 — De Claro Fonte. Momonia. *vjs. viijd.*  
 — De Ballinornan in Lohgsendy. Midia. *ijjs. iiijd.*  
 1272. De Rupe Cassel. Momonia. *vjs. viijd.*

## Proceedings of the Association.

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25TH MAY.

GORDON M. HILLS, ESQ., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

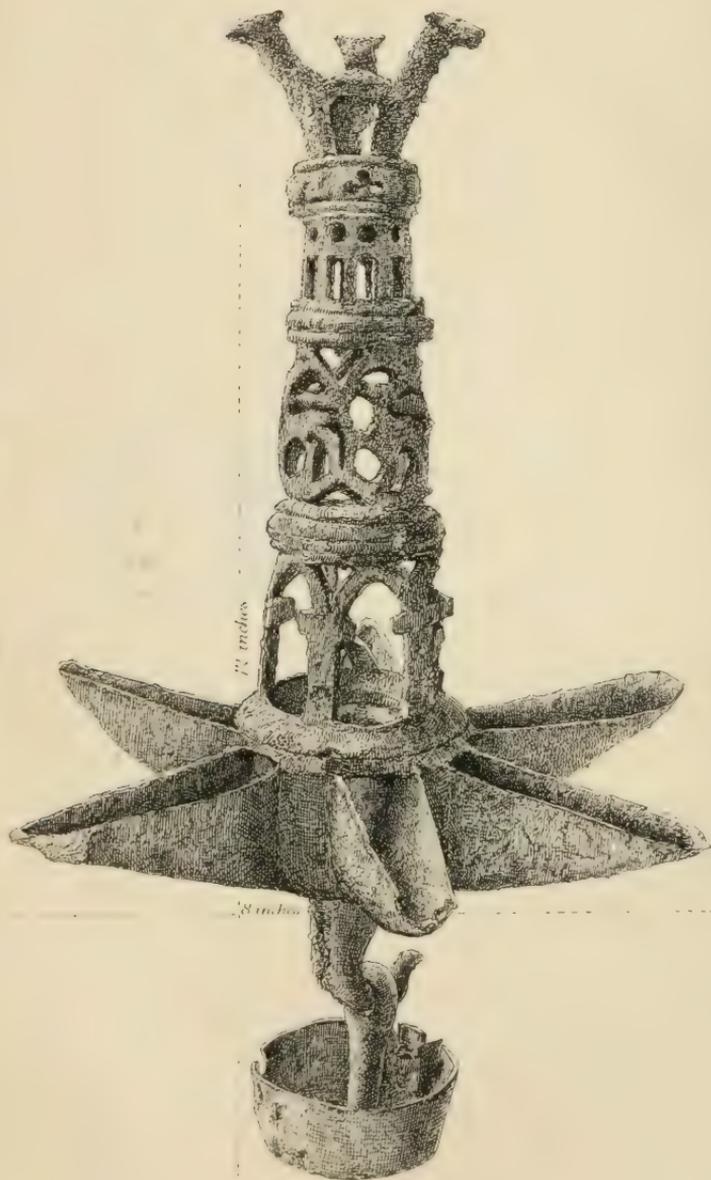
THE election of the following member was announced :—William Wilding, Esq., Montgomery.

Thanks were returned for the following presents :—

- To the Society.*—Council of the East India Association for Journal, vol. iv, No. 1, 8vo, London, 1870.
- „ „ Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland, for vol. i, No. 7, third series, 8vo, Dublin, 1869 ; and vol. i, No. 1, fourth series, 8vo, Dublin, 1870.
- „ „ Royal Archæological Institute, for No. 104, 8vo, London, 1869.
- To the Author.*—M. Ch. Rœssler, Secrétaire de la Société Impériale Havraise, etc., for *Essay Sur le Tombeau de Mausole d'après les historiens anciens et les découvertes de M. C. T. Newton à Halicarnasse.*
- „ „ Charles Warne, Esq., F.S.A., for the Celtic Tumuli of Dorset, an Account of Personal and other Researches in the Sepulchral Mounds of the Durotriges, illustrated, folio, London, 1866.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming sent for exhibition a copy of a Suffolk brass, with the following remarks :—“ The drawing now submitted, and for which my thanks are due to Mr. Watling, is a copy of sepulchral brass in the church of Carlton, a small parish in the hundred of Hoxne, Suffolk. It represents a male personage, standing with the palms of his hands pressed together in prayer, but there are so few details that it is somewhat difficult to determine whether he be a pious layman or some inferior ecclesiastic. According to Mr. Watling, opinions are in favour of his being a churchman, either John Framlingham, Rector of Kelsale, 1330, who founded a chantry at Carlton for three chaplains to pray for the soul of Alice, first wife of Thomas De Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk ; or of John Honing, who was Rector of Carlton in the reign





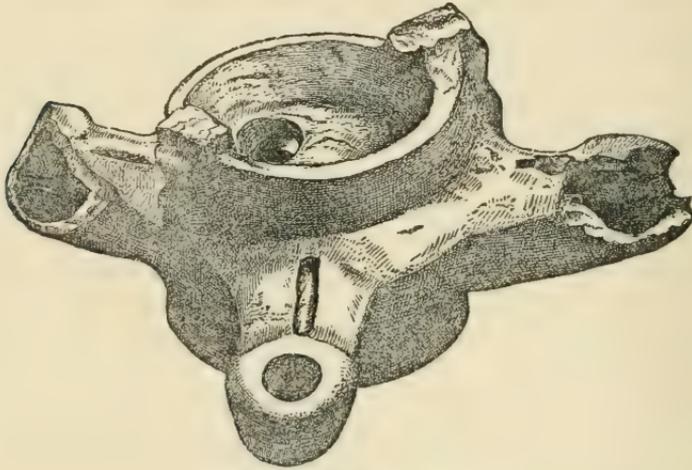
of Henry VIII. I cannot think that the brass in question refers to either of the individuals here named, but to some civilian who flourished in the second half of the fifteenth century, for the general aspect of the figure bespeaks the reign of Edward IV (1461-83). Whoever the worthy person may have been, his effigy now before us shows him with hair rather closely cropped, and with such a youthful countenance that we can scarcely fancy that beard and whisker ever grew thereon. He is dressed in a long full-sleeved gown with broad hems about the wrists and skirt, and secured at the waist with a buckled girdle, around which hangs a rosary of twelve large globose beads, with a tassel at each end. The pointed shoes, or half-boots, are of the kind which were made to lace up on the inner side. Between the feet springs from the ground the little plant called houseleek, no doubt introduced here on account of its Latin name *Sempervivum*, a fit and well-chosen emblem of the soul's immortality."

Mr. Watling exhibited a drawing of the dexter moiety of a roundlet of painted glass which he had met with by chance among the stores of a glazier at Ipswich, who could not, or would not, state whence it was obtained. The painting is executed in three colours thus disposed—blue sky, yellow hills and foreground, and hair and details of the figure, and and blown shading on the latter. The subject is the Conversion of St. Hubert, who is delineated resting on his right knee, with clasped hands, and his bare head surmounted by a nimbus, which might well pass for a golden platter. The skirt of the huntsman's doublet falls in stiff folds from the waist to midway down the thighs; his high boots have broad reversed tops; a sword is belted on his left side, and a cor-de-chasse on his right. On the ground in front is his flat bonnet with a little feather rising from the side; before him is a dog, or rather a portion of one, and behind it stands a horse with his left hoof raised. The sinister half of the roundlet, now lost, must have contained the fore-part of the dog, and the cruciferous stag whose miraculous appearance turned the wicked worldling into a pious hermit. According to the opinion of Mr. H. Syer Cuming, this glass was painted in France in the early part of the sixteenth century, and in all probability adorned the window of the hall of some guild that had adopted St. Hubert as its patron.

For some observations on mementos of St. Hubert see *Journal* xvi, 338; xix, 98; xxiv, 225, 392.

Mr. J. W. Baily exhibited the following objects from a recent London excavation:—Bronze hanging lamp with six spouts (Plate 20); bronze steel-yard; bronze hand, probably the hand of a *sculptorium* or scratch-back; fragment of an earthen four-spout lamp of an uncommon type, with fragment of bail by which to suspend it; small earthen vessel of unusual form; fragment of Samian bowl, with the figure of Apollo

holding the lyre—all these examples are Roman ; also a bone ring with engraved Runic ornament ; small earthen figure of St. Veronica ; and seven dart or small spear-heads from railway excavation, Blackfriars.



Fragment of four-spouted Roman Lamp.

Mr. Edwin J. Munt exhibited some beautifully executed architectural drawings of Rising Castle, Norfolk, which was visited by the Association at Norwich Congress in 1857 (see *Journal*, vol. xiv, pp. 145-156), with an illustrative account, which was read by Mr. Hills, and will be printed in the *Collectanea*.

Mr. Walter L. Holt exhibited the following objects:—1. A Romano-Germanic circular bronze plaque—repoussé—with a kneeling figure in the centre, and inscription on outer rim—found some years since at Treves, and believed to have been a portion of a large dish. 2. Two “satirical medals,” one in silver and the other in brass, specimens of the medals which were so freely circulated in Germany during the civil and religious wars of the sixteenth century ; on the obverse the head of the Pope is represented wearing his tiara, and it is so arranged that on reversing it a devil’s head with long ears is seen ; around the medal is the device—“*Ecclesia perversa tenet faciem Diaboli.*” On the reverse is also a double head, exhibiting a cardinal and a fool, with the legend—“*Stulti aliquando sapientes.*” The same subject is represented in others varying the heads and the devices. The Roman Catholic party had their medal with the head of Calvin and devil.

8TH JUNE.

THOMAS WRIGHT, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE election of the following members was announced:—

Richard G. Ellery, Esq., Ryde, Isle of Wight.

H. F. W. Holt, Esq., 6, King’s Road, Clapham Park.

Thanks were returned for the following presents :—

*To the Society.*—Society of Antiquaries for Proceedings, vol. iv, No. 7, second series, 8vo, London, 1869.

*To the Publishers.*—Messrs. Adams and Francis, for facsimile of Burns' original MS. of Tam O'Shanter and the Lament of Mary Queen of Scots, with an introduction by Moy Thomas, Esq., 4to, London.

„ „ W. H. Black, Esq., F.S.A., for Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities formerly belonging to the late Robert Hay, Esq., of Linplum, 8vo, London, 1869.

Mr. Blashill exhibited photographs and a coloured specimen in facsimile of the Hereford *Mappa Mundi*, and said that, as an exact copy of it was about to be published, any member who chose to do so could become possessed of one.

Mr. J. W. Baily exhibited the following objects :—Six examples of Roman vases, each with a handle, varying from 9 ins. to 14½ ins. in height, from an excavation near Holborn Circus. An earthen vessel, 6½ ins. in diameter, with a perforated bottom, probably a colander and Roman ; this had been used as a cinerary urn, and contained bones ; from an excavation in the city.

Mr. E. G. Squier, M.A., F.S.A., of New York, a member of the Association, and late Commissioner of the United States in Peru, laid before the Association a large number of plans and photographs of the aboriginal monuments of the Inca empire, distinguishing, however, the remains of the Incas proper from those of the various principalities or political organisations which they reduced under their sway. Among these plans and views were a considerable number of vases and terra-cottas, representing human heads, presumably more or less characteristic of those of the people by whom they were made, and bearing close resemblance to the features of the existing Indians of the country. Mr. Squier asked particular attention to an elaborate plan of the great fortress of the Saesahuaman dominating the Inca capital, Cuzco, which showed some of the features of modern military architecture, such as salient and re-entering angles, and enfilading bastions. This immense work, which Mr. Squier said could only be compared with the pyramids of Egypt as a monument of human skill and power, is of the style loosely called Cyclopean. This style, although common in fortresses and in the retaining walls of terraces, did not enter into the walls proper of temples or palaces. Mr. Squier also exhibited plans and views of several immense *huucas* or pyramids of the Peruvian coast.

Mr. H. F. Holt exhibited the following silver medals of the Pays Bas :—

1. Medal, struck in 1597, to commemorate several victories of the

Dutch over the Spaniards. *Obverse*—In the centre are the words VENIT . VIDIT . DEUS . VICIT . surrounded by a circle containing the words VICTORIA PARTA SPATIO TRIMESTRI . Outside this circle are the nine towns of Alpen, Berg, Meurs, Grol, Brevordt, Enschede, Oldenzeel, Otmarsen, and Lingen, the names of which are also written in a band on the outer edge. *Reverse*—The Spanish army in flight from the Dutch, and in the background the town of Tournout. Around is a legend from the 117th Psalm—A DOMINO FACTUM EST ISTUD ET EST MIRABILE IN OCVLIS NOSTRIS . At the bottom is the inscription—VICTORIA TURNOTANA—JANV, 1597.

2. Medal struck to commemorate the remarkable capture of the town of Breda from the Spaniards by the Dutch in 1590. On the *obverse* is the celebrated turf-boat scene. Around the upper portion is the well-known legend—PARATI VINCERE AUT MORI, 4 MARTII ; and at the bottom the words—INVICTI . ANIMI . PR . *Reverse*—The Belgian lion and the arms of Breda, below which is the inscription—BREDA A SERVITUTE HISPANA VINDICATA DUCTU PRINCIPIS MAURITHI A NASS. A° CIO.IO.XC.

3. Medal commemorative of the raising of the siege of Bergen Op Zoom by Prince Maurice II, October, 1622. *Obverse*—A three-quarter portrait of Prince Maurice, to the right, the bust clothed in armour. Around is the inscription, MAURITIO . D . G . PRINC . AURAI . COM . NASS . E[T]C PVA . F . *Reverse*—An equestrian figure of the same, to the left, with Bergen Op Zoom in the distance. Around is the legend—MAURICI AUXILIUM PRÆSTANS VICTORIA BERGIS .

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, V.P., made the following communication on a painting of St. Felicitas :—

“Mr. Watling has kindly furnished me with a drawing of a highly curious figure of a female saint which formerly adorned one of the painted windows of the north chapel of the church at Little Glemham, Suffolk, and to which I beg to invite the attention of our members. Our indefatigable friend asks who it is that is here delineated, and I think we may reply in full confidence that it is St. Felicitas, bearing a sword, upon the blade of which are placed the heads of her seven martyred sons, who, if tradition can be trusted, were named respectively, Januarius, Felix, Philip, Silanus, Alexander, Vitalis, and Martial, all of whom, like their faithful mother, have been honoured by canonisation. This unfortunate family suffered by decollation during the persecution of the Christians in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, about A.D. 163, and, though held in high repute on the Continent, it is seldom heard of here ; indeed, I cannot at present remember a church in England where an effigy of the parent with the heads of the seven brothers can be found, now that the painted glass has vanished from Little Glemham.

“Artists have at times represented St. Felicitas in a cauldron of boiling oil, and being beheaded with her children ; but she is also de-

pieted, as she was at Little Glemham, holding the instrument of her martyrdom with the gory heads of her seven sons arranged thereon. When we consider that St. Felicitas was the mother of so large a family we cannot suppress an exclamation of surprise at the juvenile aspect she wore in Suffolk, where she looked much more like a child than a woman. The drawing submitted shows the saint in a costume at once simple and elegant, consisting of a full-sleeved long outer garment open from the waist downward, thus displaying a short under-dress with embroidered hem, and beneath this a skirt reaching to the feet. She grasps the hilt of the sword with the right hand, and rests its blade in her left palm, the heads of the brethren being disposed along it in a regular series according to their size, the largest being next the cross-guard, the smallest near the point of the weapon. Guided by the outline before us, I do not feel inclined to refer this rare and interesting design to an earlier period than circa 1500, and from its general style I fancy it must have been the work of a French artist.

“I will just add, in conclusion, that St. Felicitas is regarded as the patroness of young children, and that her festival is set down in the Roman calendar as occurring on the 10th July.”

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited the following objects found in the excavations at Victoria Street, City,—1, handle of amphora, stamped AGRICOLE. Site of Castle Barnard, Blackfriars,—2, bronze spur; 3, large flesh-hook, three teeth; 4, four confessional tokens, in lead. From the site of Blackfriars Monastery,—5, statuette, in wood, of a bishop or archbishop, headless, of fine workmanship; 6, a fine pilgrim's bell; 7, a Canterbury bell, of bronze, to which adheres a fragment of a hair shirt. A bronze wire passes through the eye of the bell, giving rise to the supposition that this relic might have been buried with a monk, and folded in his hand; 8, a large bronze bell, spherical, partly broken, inscribed WO; 9, an ampulla of bronze, or, perhaps, head of a pilgrim's staff; 10, bronze chain of ten links, of peculiar workmanship; 11, a rosary of seventeen artificial gems, knitted together by bronze wire—the gems represent emerald, sapphire, and carnelian; 12, a spike candlestick of bronze, of delicate Italian workmanship, sixteenth century.

Mr. Alfred Sadler read a paper on “Roman Auxiliary Troops in Britain,” which will be found printed at pp. 221-36.

Mr. W. H. Black said that Mr. Sadler's paper was a most valuable one, and indicated a vast amount of research, but he doubted whether the term Britones, quoted by him so often, applied in every case to the inhabitants of the British Isles. This was a *vexata questio*, and required further examination.

23RD NOVEMBER.

H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A.SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

EDWARD ROBERTS, Esq., F.S.A., Hon. Secretary, congratulated the members present upon the results attained by the late congress at Hereford, and remarked that the thanks of the Association were pre-eminently due to their President, Chandos Wren Hoskyns, Esq., M.P., who, by the great interest he felt in their proceedings, as evinced by his continual presence among them, contributed so much to the success of the meeting. To that gentleman, to the local committee, and such of the neighbouring gentry as had rendered their visit so instructive and agreeable, he himself and all who attended the Congress were much beholden, and the Association would not readily forget all the kindness they had experienced.

The election of the following members was then announced:—

George Moore, Esq., M.D., Hartlepool.  
 Rev. J. F. Hodgson, Staindrop, Durham.  
 Mr. T. Kerslake, Bristol.  
 George Lambert, Esq., 10, Coventry Street, W.  
 R. W. Banks, Esq., Ridgebourn House, Kington.  
 Rev. James Davies, Moor Court, Kington.  
 J. Kyrle Collins, Esq., Weir End, Ross.  
 Ven. Archdeacon Waring, Hereford.  
 Rev. C. J. Robinson, Norton Canon, Leominster.  
 Arthur Thompson, Esq., St. Nicholas Square, Hereford.  
 James Rankyn, Esq., Bryngwn, Hereford.  
 T. R. Kempson, Esq., Broad Street, Hereford.  
 Mr. Joseph Jones, Broad Street, Hereford.  
 Rev. W. Phillott, Stanton-on-Wye.

Thanks were returned for the following presents:—

*To the Society.*—Royal Archæological Commission of St. Petersburg for *Compte Rendu de la Commission Impériale Archéologique de St. Petersburg* for 1868, 4to, St. Petersburg, 1869; with atlas, folio, St. Petersburg, 1869.  
 „ „ Society of Antiquaries for *Archæologia*, vol. xlii, part 2, 4to.  
 „ „ Ditto, *Proceedings*, 2nd series, vol. iv, No. 8, 8vo, London, 1870.  
 „ „ Sussex Archæological Society for *Collections*, vol. xxii, 8vo, Lewes, 1870.  
 „ „ Cambrian Archæological Association for *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 4th series, Nos. 3 and 4, 8vo, London, 1870.  
 „ „ Ditto, for *History of the Lordship of Gower*, edited by Charles Baker, Esq., F.S.A., part iii, 8vo, London, 1870.

- „ „ Royal Dublin Society for Journal No. 39, 8vo, Dublin, 1870
- „ „ Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland for Journal, 4th series, vol i, Nos. 2 and 3, 8vo, Dublin, 1870.
- „ „ Canadian Institute for Canadian Journal of Science, Literature, and History, vol. xii, No. 6, 8vo, Toronto, 1870.
- „ „ Smithsonian Institute for Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, vol. xvi, 4to, Washington, 1870.
- „ „ Ditto, for Miscellaneous Collections, Nos. 8 and 9, 8vo, Washington, 1869.
- „ „ Ditto, for Annual Report of the Board of Regents, 8vo, Washington, 1869.
- „ „ Essex Institute (U.S.A.), for Historical Notice of the Institute, 8vo, Salem, 1866.
- „ „ Ditto, Historical Collections, 2nd series, vol. i, part ii, 8vo, Salem, 1869.
- „ „ Ditto, for Proceedings and Communications of the Society, for 1868, vol. vi, part i, 8vo, Salem, 1870.
- „ „ Ditto, Account of the Newspapers and other Periodicals published in Salem, 1768—1856, by Gilbert L. Streeter, 8vo, Salem, 1856.
- „ „ Ditto, for Bulletin, vol. i, Nos. 1-12, 8vo, Salem, 1869.
- „ „ Minnesota Historical Society for Second Annual Report of the Commissioner of Statistics for 1860 and 1861, 8vo, St. Paul, 1862.
- „ „ Ditto, for Report of Explorations in the Mineral Regions of Minnesota, by Col. Charles Whittlesey, 8vo, Cleveland, 1866.
- „ „ Ditto, for Annual Report of the Minnesota Historical Society for 1869, 8vo, St. Paul, 1870.
- „ „ Ditto, for Charter, Constitution, and By-laws of the Minnesota Historical Society, 8vo, St. Paul, 1868.
- „ „ Ditto, for Annual Report of 1868, 8vo, St. Paul, 1869.
- „ „ Ditto, for Proceedings of the Third Annual Meeting of the Minnesota Editorial Convocation, held in the city of St. Paul, 19 January, 1869, 8vo, St. Paul, 1869.
- „ „ Ditto, for Statistics of Minnesota for 1869, 8vo, St. Paul, 1870.
- To the Author.*—E. G. Squier, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., for Observations on the Geography and Archæology of Peru, 8vo, London, 1870.
- „ „ Henry William Henfrey, Esq., for Guide to the Study of English Coins, etc., part vi, small 8vo, London, 1870.
- „ „ Arthur Benjamin Anderson, Esq., for Narrative of a Journey to Musardu, 8vo, New York, 1870.

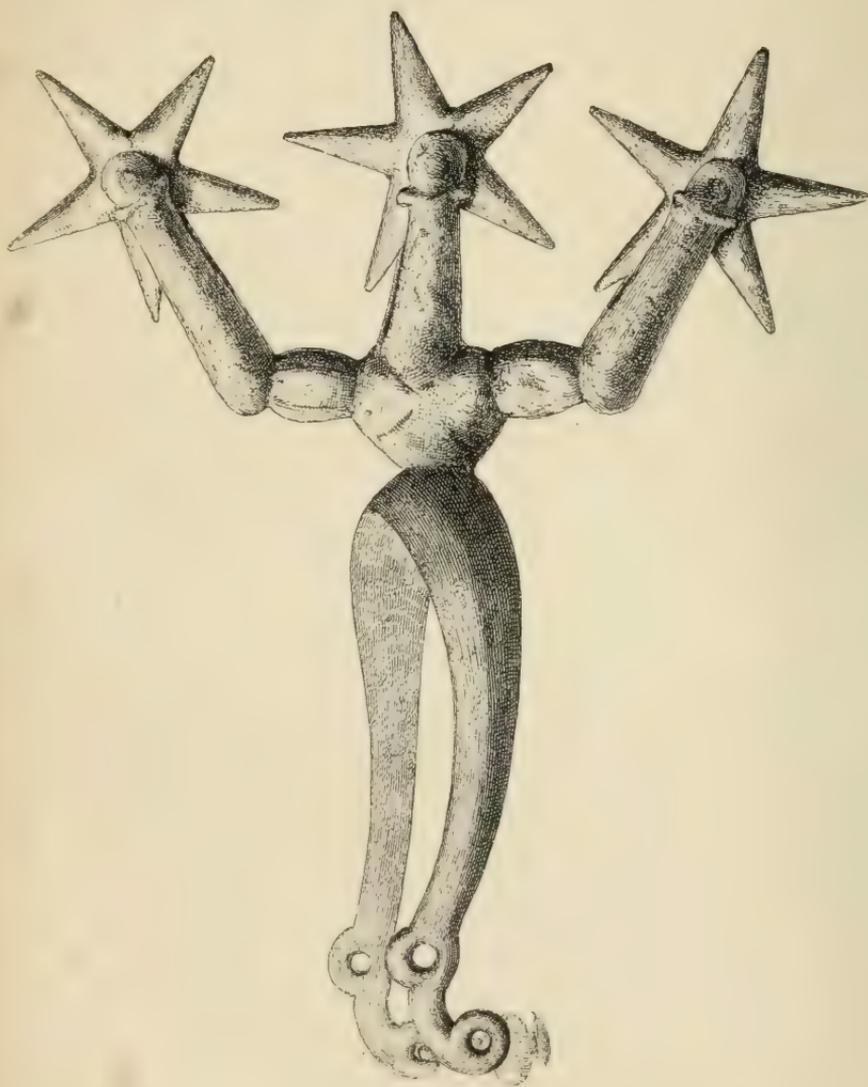
Mr. H. Syer Cuming called attention to a new type of forgery, made last September by William Monk, of the late notorious firm of “Billy

and Charley." It is a leaden plaque, 2 ins. diameter, bearing the device of an Agnus Dei, nimbed, and supporting the banner of the cross; the figure being on a trellis-field inclosed with the conjoined triangle and quatrefoil, the verge being inscribed with a jumble of Gothic and modern letters like those composing other monkish legends designed in Rosemary Lane. Billy had the audacity to bring this "Pilgrim's Sign" to Mr. Baily with the declaration that it had been exhumed "by a friend," and that he felt sure it was a genuine antique. Mr. Baily at once pronounced the thing a forgery, and charged Monk with being its fabricator, an accusation repelled by the most solemn declaration of innocence; but, Mr. Baily remaining inflexible in his opinions, Monk gave in, and acknowledged that he had just made the sign, and that he had taken the idea of it from a butter print he had seen in a shop-window, adding to the device the back-ground and the surrounding inscription, and he excused himself for the mistakes in the lettering by pleading his inability to either read or write. In a few weeks' time Billy paid Mr. Baily another visit, bringing with him the plaster-mould in which he cast the "sign," and which, without much difficulty, he was induced to part with. It was now exhibited with a plaque in its virgin state.

Mr. Cuming said that, as some persons had doubted if the same mould (with a difference) was used for lead and cock-metal castings, he would take the present opportunity of laying before the meeting a medallion plaque in each material which had been produced in *one* "forma." They are  $3\frac{3}{8}$  ins. diameter, with a cable-pattern loop at top, flanked by mermaids, and bearing on one side the enthroned effigy of a bearded monarch with spiked crown and triparted topped sceptre; on the other side, two knights in *cap-à-pie* armour standing *vis-à-vis*. After a sufficient number of casts in cock-metal had been taken, the fabricator added to the knights the date 1009, before making the leaden plaques. These medallions were in the market as far back as the year 1864, and may be purchased in various parts of England. It may be well to state that Charles Eaton (Charley) was interred on the 9th day of January; he, therefore, has had no hand in any of the "duffers" (forgeries) issued since that date. Bad as this fellow was, he was an honourable man in comparison with his co-partner William Monk.

Mr. Walter L. Holt exhibited a Gothic coffer, French work of the fourteenth century, of which he gave the following brief description:—"The object now exhibited is  $7\frac{3}{4}$  ins. long,  $4\frac{6}{8}$  ins. wide, and  $6\frac{1}{4}$  ins. high. Over the curved lid are five metal straps or bands, two of which are plain, and in their course form the hinges as well as coverings to the keyhole and hasp. They are studded with square-headed nails. The remaining three bands are decorated and broader than the two already mentioned, and have rose-headed fastenings. The body





3 Rowelled Spur.

of the coffer is ornamented with tracery, within three compartments on either side, flanked by projecting buttresses; at each corner is a stronger buttress, set edge-wise, standing on a short plinth, which forms the legs on which the coffer stands. The handle is of angular shape, with a square moulded knob in the centre, and is fastened to the lid by two hasps. The ends of the coffer are even more elaborately decorated with the *cancelli* or screen work than the sides, and are in perfect preservation. It bears very trifling marks of use, although imperfect in some details, and in its *ensemble* constitutes an interesting example of the Flamboyant Gothic style of the period."

Mr. H. Syer Cuming read a paper "On the Tau as an Emblem of Life," which will be printed in a future number of the *Journal*.

Mr. J. W. Baily exhibited twenty-five silver coins of Ethelred II, from St. Martin's-le-Grand. When found they were in such a state of dirt and decomposition that it had been pronounced impossible to make anything of them. Mr. Baily, however, by means of great care and an ingenious process which he had discovered for their restoration, had managed, not only to render their legends plain, but the whole of the coins themselves comparatively bright and entire in appearance.

Mr. Baily also exhibited two penners' ink-horns, of French workmanship, carved in horn, with the arms of the Dauphin and figures of Apostles and Saints,—one found at Brooks' Wharf, Thames Street, in 1868, the other at the new Worship Street Police-office in 1870, both of the sixteenth century; a silver finger-ring with the letter M, found during the present year at Kennard's Wharf, Thames Street, sixteenth century; and two small metal finger-rings with stones, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Mr. Cecil Brent, F.S.A., exhibited an iron spur of the seventeenth century (Plate 21), remarkable on account of its having three rowels. It was found at Canterbury during the present year, and its narrowness probably results from the fact of its having been crushed in.

14TH DECEMBER.

H. SYER CUMING, Esq., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Robert Golding, Esq., of Hunton, Kent, sent for exhibition a gold coin found in digging in a garden at Willesborough, near Ashford, Kent. By desire of Mr. Golding, it has been referred to our Vice-President, John Evans, Esq., for his opinion. This gentleman says it is an ancient British coin of the same class as that engraved by him in plate B, No. 7. On the obverse, however, it shows the back portion instead of the front portion of the head, and on the reverse the pellets of the field are more numerous. The obverse is curious as showing how straight

was the line formed by the hair on the die. Coins of this class have frequently been found in Kent, and they occur as far north as Pontefract.

Mr. Gordon Hills observed that a reference to Mr. Evans' plate would show that the obverse bears a portion of a profile head, bound with a wreath of laurel, the small dimensions of the coin taking only a small portion of the impression of a much larger die. The reverse bears a rough and imperfect figure of a horse, surrounded by the pellets which the increasing rudeness of the artists had substituted for the representations of a rider, or chariot and driver, as seen on classic coins.

Mr. J. W. Baily exhibited a miscellaneous collection of objects discovered in various excavations in the city of London during the last six months, and consisting of:—Umbo of a shield (Saxon); bronze seal, with the impression of the Magdalen; small bronze pistol, designed, perhaps, as a model of a wheel-lock dag. Also the following, which are probably all Roman:—Two small bronze padlocks; two bronze keys, one of unusual form; a small bronze bowl; two small bronze amphoræ, with handles or loops on either side; a bronze leaf of very good form (honeysuckle?), a fragment; four other bronze fragments.

Mr. F. H. Holt announced that he had collected several entirely new facts relative to the Fairford Windows, especially in reference to the alleged connexion of John Tame with Fairford Church. These facts had hitherto been quite unknown; but, as their authority was undoubted, they threw most valuable light upon the whole question at issue between himself and his opponents. He, therefore, proposed to read at their next meeting, on January 11th, 1871, a paper, in which he would give full details of his investigations, and state that which he thought must be the verdict of all impartial persons upon the matter.

Mr. H. SYER CUMING, V.P., read the following paper on "Imitations of Turned Work":—

Among a variety of curious arts which arose in the seventeenth century, flourished for a brief period, were then forgotten for awhile, and again brought forth as something new, must be numbered that of embossing on wood, etc., so that the materials have all the aspect of having been turned in a lathe, with more or less elaborate subjects in relief. The *modus operandi* followed in embossing wood may be thus described:—A transverse section of fine-grained wood was impressed with a cameo die of hard metal; the surface then planed down to the bottom of the incuse device, and the wood immersed in water, by which process the condensed portion was induced to swell up above the surface, and appear in well-defined relief. Fortunately, I have it in my power to place before you an actual die employed in this singular art, and which I need scarcely add, is an object of the utmost rarity. It is of brass,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. diameter,  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. thick, weighs  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ozs. 1 dwt. 12 grs., and bears on its

face the anaglyptic profile of a lady to the right, with her side-locks arranged in flowing curls, and her back hair rolled round in a somewhat conic form. Her high dress is drawn in perpendicular folds, and around the bust is a sort of scarf. This has been pronounced a portrait of Henrietta Maria, the consort of King Charles I, and it certainly resembles the profile of this Queen on several medals.

Seventeenth-century examples of embossed wood have become exceedingly rare, and, indeed, it is a question if they were ever very common. One of the earliest portraits I have seen in this style of art is of Charles II, a medallion full  $1\frac{1}{4}$  in. diameter, upon a transverse section of a branch of a box-tree, about  $3\frac{3}{4}$  in. diameter, and nearly  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. thick. It is a draped, laureated bust to the right, surrounded by the legend:—CAROLVS II, DEI G. MAG. BRI. FRAN. ET HIB. REX. This specimen has been kindly placed in my hands for exhibition by Dr. Hiff. It is an unfinished attempt, or trial-piece, abandoned on account of the wood riving beneath the blow given to the die, but is none the less curious and interesting on that account.

Of portraits of Sir Isaac Newton I have examined two examples from the same die, one being on ebonised wood, the other on cherry-tree wood of its natural hue—the latter I now submit for inspection. This medallion is  $1\frac{1}{8}$  in. diameter; in the centre is the bust of the illustrious philosopher to the left, encircled by the words—ISAACVS NEWTONVS, with the artist's initials, I. G., beneath the shoulder. The broad verge is decorated with a chevron band, and on the back are six concentric rings. Sir Isaac Newton was born in 1642, and died in 1726. He received the honour of knighthood in 1705; and, as the title of *Eques Auratus* does not appear on the medallion, it is fair to conclude that it was embossed previous to this event. This fine piece of imitative turnery is preserved in a broad deep circular frame of ebonised wood, such as were fashionable for miniatures in the seventeen and early part of the eighteenth century. On it is stamped the letter M.

Dr. Ure, in his *Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures, and Mines* (ed. 1839, p. 1098), incidentally mentions the process of embossing wood, and states that "snuff-boxes have been sometimes marked with prominent figures in this way." I know not how frequently this may have been the case, but I have never met with but one example, which I lay before you. This box is of olive-root,  $3\frac{1}{4}$  ins. diameter, the lid embossed with the MARCHE COMIQUE DU DOCT<sup>R</sup> GALL. It begins with two MAGICIENS in high caps and gowns, and bearing wands, then comes MUSIQUE with pipe and drum, followed by ARLEQUIN, PIEROT, SETATAN, POISSARDE, FORT, GILLES PORTANT SES CRANES. Then appear LE DOCT[EUR] ET LA FOLIE, mounted back to back on an ass; the procession being brought up by COMER[E] MADEL<sup>ON</sup>. AVEC SES TETES AI[PUYES ?]; the termination being marked by a column. The figures are full of action, and great humour is

expressed in their countenances. The devices are well developed, and the field is covered by fine concentric rings, having all the appearance of turned work. The famous phrenologist, John Joseph Gall, was born in 1758, and died in 1828. His doctrines of phrenology were made known to the world in 1803, so to about this period we may date the revival of the old process of wood embossing.<sup>1</sup>

Reliefs in tortoise-shell and horn were much in vogue in the seventeenth century, and the artists in some few cases contrived to impart to them the aspect of turnery. I exhibit an example which exemplifies this fact in an eminent degree. It is a circular snuff-box of horn,  $2\frac{3}{8}$  ins. diameter, with an elaborate basketwork pattern covering the whole exterior surface of the bottom in a rich and elegant manner. The usual way of embossing articles of tortoise-shell and horn is to soften the substance by heat, and then press it into a metal mould; and such was probably the process followed with the box under consideration, which is of the time of Charles II, and was exhumed in Moorfields, August, 1866.

The penchant for horn snuff-boxes decorated with imitations of turnery, outlived the seventeenth century, as is evidenced by the fine example I produce, the bottom of which is covered with a pattern formed of bold undulations and basketwork encircling each other; while the lid has a broad border of similar character surrounding a profile bust in armour to the left of GEORGIVS. TERTIVS. REX. The youthful countenance of the monarch enables us to fix the date of this really beautiful box to *circa* 1760.

The mode adopted in embossing ivory is not so apparent as that pursued with wood, tortoise-shell, and horn. We know that ivory becomes soft and nearly plastic by immersion in phosphoric acid of the usual specific gravity; and, when removed from the bath, washed in water, and dried, that it regains its normal consistency, and its microscopic character is unaffected by the ordeal. No doubt ivory, whilst in a plastic state, could be as easily impressed with metallic dies as horn and tortoise-shell when softened by heat, but I will not affirm that this was the way in which embossed ivories were produced which have all the appearance of having been formed in the same manner as the medallions of wood.

Nehemiah Grew, in his *Catalogue of the Rarities belonging to the Royal Society* (ed. 1681, p. 379), describes a specimen of embossed ivory in the following quaint language:—"The head of a Princess, in her hair, and with a coronet, in an oval of ivory. That which is extraordinary

<sup>1</sup> Since writing the above, my attention has been called to a paper in *All the Year Round*, of Oct. 29, 1870, entitled "Odd Pictures," in which a Mr. Straker is described as the producer, if not the inventor, of embossings on wood by means of metal dies.

is, it is not carved, but all turned work. 'Tis kept in an oval box, wrought with undulated work of several forms, all likewise turned. The art, I think, is now dead with the author."

Examples of embossed ivory are far rarer than those of embossed wood, but I am able to exhibit the drum of a box, full  $1\frac{1}{8}$  in. diameter, and about  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. deep, which is surrounded by a belt of basketwork pattern,  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. wide, of very neat design, and precisely similar to the decorations on another ivory box I have seen, and which bore the date 1670, just eleven years previous to the time when Dr. Grew believed that the art was "dead with the author." The specimen before us was recovered from the Thames in September, 1847.

In the nineteenth century the ancient Roman "pillar glass" has been vaunted as a new invention; the principle of Roman locks and keys patented by cunning craftsmen; the old process of embossing wood revived as a novelty; and who can say how soon the occupation of the sculptor and the turner may be superseded by the resuscitation of a neglected art, and die-struck brooches, boxes, and cane-tops of ivory become the admired products of the present generation.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills read a paper by Mr. Charles Rössler on "The Romano-Mosaic pavement at Lillebonne," which is printed at pp. 340-50 *ante*. Mr. Hills translated it into English as he read it from the original, and explained it by means of enlarged drawings prepared by himself from Mr. Rössler's original sketch.

## Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 265.)

SATURDAY, AUGUST 17.

AT half-past nine A.M. the members and visitors assembled at the Town Hall, and at about ten o'clock started in carriages for Abbot's Langley, where they were received by the vicar, the Rev. Canon Gee, D.D., who conducted them to the church, and remarked that the names of Abbot's Langley and King's Langley referred to the respective jurisdictions of the king and the abbot of St. Alban's. The church, he said, appeared to have been originally a Norman structure with an apse. The original church had no buttresses. Baluster-buttresses were added about forty years ago, when the church was smothered in Parker's cement. The Norman arches had been carefully cleared of this cement, and a reverent and careful restoration had been carried out. That part of the church at the back of the organ went by the name of the "Child Chapel," but there was no trace of a chapel there. The aisle by the side of the church was certainly of a very large and disproportionate size. In the wall they found the remains of a rood-loft staircase. The whole place was honeycombed with vaults. The monument to Mrs. Ann Coombe (1640), on the south wall of the church, had been much admired by Professor Donaldson. There was a very late brass of the sixteenth century. The font was said to be of the fourteenth century, though the lower part of it did not appear to be of that date. The carving on the corbels supporting the roof seemed to carry out the idea that the chancel represented heaven, and the nave the church militant on earth.

Mr. Roberts said that Dr. Gee seemed to know more about his church than many clergymen did about theirs. He could not, however, agree with Dr. Gee that the church had originally had an apse at its eastern end. The Norman church evidently came as far as the present chancel-arch. The chancel was most likely the same width as the rest of the church. The wall behind him, if not a Norman wall, was one of the succeeding period. The arches in the nave were very much like those of Hemel Hempstead Church, and possibly were the

work of the same masons when they travelled through the district. There was a singular change in the first capital of one of the piers, the carving of which was of a later date, and different from all the others. The arch at the end of the nave was a curious skew-arch, erected in very recent times, possibly in the time of the Georges.

Dr. Gee said that an opinion had been entertained that it was Saracenic.

Mr. Roberts, in continuation, remarked that what Dr. Gee had called the great chancel, must have been a chantry chapel of the fourteenth century, though to some extent they would find it was of a mixed character. The chancel bore marks, in all parts of it, of great changes.

Dr. Gee asked Mr. Roberts how he thought that the Norman church had ended ?

Mr. Roberts said there was no way of ascertaining this except by digging. It did not follow that, because a chancel was Norman, it terminated in an apse. No doubt it extended very nearly or quite to the same length as the present chancel. The nave, in that case, was proportionately and unusually short. With regard to the roofs, those of the nave and chancel were very much later than any other part of the church ; probably of the time of Henry VIII, and they ought to be exposed. The buttresses of the tower were not of the same date as the tower ; they were probably thirteenth century buttresses. The font appeared to be of the early part of the fifteenth century. With regard to the monument admired by Professor Donaldson, there seemed to be an elegance about the figures that was very rarely met with.

One of the monuments which attracted the attention of the visitors, though not of antiquarian interest, was the monument of Chief Justice Raymond, who is represented in a sitting posture, with a pile of books before him, and with Magna Charta in his right hand. A little cherub offers him a coronet, and with averted face he stretches out his hand to receive it. Near him sits a lady with a mournful expression of countenance, holding before him a medallion on which the face of a youth is represented in relief. In another of the monuments, that to Claudius Amyard of Langley Bury, the inscription tells us that the deceased "married Frances, widow of the Right Hon. George Earl of Northampton, by whom this monument is erected to his memory"; which apparently means that the tomb in honour of the lady's second husband was raised by her first.

The visitors then went to the Vicarage, where they were kindly invited by Dr. Gee to partake of refreshments. There the parish Register was inspected, the earliest records in which are of the year 1538. In the Register is a record of a tragical circumstance which happened in 1566, when "Thomas Roberts hanged himself on an apple-tree in the church fields, belonging to the heirs of James Hayward, for the

love of Jane Hayward, then widow, unto whom the said Thomas was betrothed, and should have married her as upon Good Friday. In the morning this violent deed was done, being the 12th of April, 1566."

The party subsequently proceeded to King's Langley Church, where, in the absence of the vicar (Mr. Hodgson), Dr. Gee kindly officiated as *cicerone*. He said that on the hill there were the remains of the conventual church of the Black Friars, and it was supposed that on the destruction of that building some of its monuments were removed to the parish church. King's Langley Church is of flint and stone, consisting of a square embattled tower, a nave, chancel, two side-aisles, and a short spire.

Mr. Roberts said the whole of the church was of the sixteenth century, except, perhaps, the wall on the south side of the chancel.

Dr. Gee pointed out the tomb of Edmund Langley, fifth son of Edward III; and also some rare encaustic tiles with the arms of England on them, 4 inches square. Piers Gaveston, according to Weaver, was buried in this church. The tomb in the corner belonged to the family of Sir Henry Verney. Richard the Second's body lay in the chancel of the church during the reign of Henry IV, and the first act of grace performed by Henry V was to move the body into Westminster Abbey.

In answer to Mr. George Wright, Dr. Gee said that the site of a building was shown at King's Langley, which was believed to have been erected by an uncle of the poet Geoffrey Chaucer, who was said to have been appointed clerk of the works.

A brass of the date of 1588 was pointed out, to the memory of one John Carter, who had two wives; by the first of whom he had four sons and five daughters, and by the second five sons and four daughters.

The party then proceeded to the beautiful little village of Chenies, staying on their way, for a few moments, to examine the remains of the royal palace near King's Langley; and on reaching Chenies, which, with its picturesque cluster of trees in the centre, seemed to realise the poet's ideal of a country village, they sat down to luncheon at the Bedford Arms.

After luncheon they proceeded to the parish church, where they inspected the stately chapel of the house of Bedford with its large and imposing monuments. In this chapel lie buried many members of the family of the Russells from the time of the Earl of Bedford who died in the second year of the reign of Queen Mary, to a very recent period. The tombs and monuments are almost in a perfect state of preservation, all of them bearing the arms of the family, with the motto, "*Che sara, sara.*"

In describing the church, Mr. Roberts said it was of the latest period of the Gothic style, and had been extensively restored. The church

was built at a period when the Gothic style had become so much debased as to become almost in a state of transition to the Elizabethan style. The chapel or mausoleum of the Russell family contained some excellent specimens of monumental sculpture. One of the effigies on the floor had lost its legs; and as it would have been an impropriety to restore the limbs, the difficulty was cleverly got over by replacing them with a roughly chiseled block of stone which showed the general form of the figure without going to the extent of restoring it. The date of the chantry was said on the outside to be 1556.

The next place visited was the old Manor House near the church. The original building was probably erected in the reign of Henry VIII. Mr. Roberts said that Mr. Rickards, the owner, was of opinion that the only remains of the original structure were the large stack of beautiful chimneys of the period, and a room in the roof of very great length, extending from one end of the house to the other. This room Mr. Roberts called a "solar," and said the term was still used by lawyers in leases,—“cellars and solars.” The room was said to have been formerly used as an armoury; but it was impossible to say for what purpose it was originally intended. The roof of the building was not the original roof, and all the windows were of later date. The blocks of chimneys all varied in design, and were supported and protected by gables projecting several feet, and in every instance covering the backs of the chimneys. It appeared that the bricks were of a soft, porous character; and the front which faces the south-west evidently became saturated, which affected the flues, causing the smoke to descend when the fires were lighted. These gables had, therefore, been added in order to prevent the down-current of air forcing the smoke down the chimneys. The spaces had been utilised in one place as a staircase, and in another as a cupboard; but they were now closed up. Another peculiar feature was a spiral staircase with a carved hand-rail, which had been cut out of the wall.

The visitors next proceeded to the little church of Latymers, which was a modern building. The Rev. Mr. Burgess, the incumbent, in describing the church, said that when the late Lord Chesham came into the property he found the church in a very neglected state; and before putting his own house in order, he rebuilt the church on the original foundation, though unfortunately before the revival of church architecture. The present Lord Chesham had, under the supervision of Mr. Gilbert Scott, added two stone arches and an organ-chamber. When the church was rebuilt, it was thought at the time a perfect gem.

On reaching the delightful seat of Lord Chesham, at Latymers, the members and visitors were received by Lord and Lady Chesham, who had kindly invited them to inspect the house and grounds. Before

taking their departure, Mr. Burgess showed them some remains which had been discovered in this neighbourhood, of a Roman villa, with some Roman coins, etc.

After thanking Lord and Lady Chesham and Mr. Burgess for their kind attention to them during their visit, the party started on their homeward journey. At Rickmansworth the visitors stayed a few minutes to look at the church, and particularly at its east window, the stained glass of which Mr. Holt pronounced to be of French manufacture of the sixteenth century, and not of very good character. The church itself is entirely modern. Time did not admit of the intended visit to Moor Park, the seat of Lord Ebury. St. Alban's was reached about half past eight.

The concluding meeting of the Congress was held at a quarter to nine, P.M., in the Town Hall, W. Bradley, Esq., the Mayor, presiding. After the usual account of the day's excursion had been given by Mr. Roberts, Mr. G. R. Wright, in the absence of the author, read a paper, "On a Mural Inscription in the Tower of Ashwell Church, Herts," by J. E. Cussans, Esq. A copy of the inscription, part of which had evidently perished, was exhibited. The writing is of a very rude character, and difficult to decipher. It is in Latin, and refers to a great pestilence which raged in the year 1361, the words running thus :

PESTILENTIA

[H]OC TEMPORE CRUENTA MISERANDA, FEROX, VIOLENTA

MCCC

SUPEREST PLEBS PESSIMA TESTIS

[H]OC ANNO MAURUS IN ORBE TONAT. IN FINEQUE VENTVS VALIDUS. LXI.

Upwards of 57,000 persons are said to have died in London, of the plague, in this year, between the months of January and July, among them being Henry Duke of Lancaster; and in Paris 30,000. A notice respecting the church and manor of Ashwell will be found in Chancy's *Hertfordshire*, pp. 33-39; but there is no mention in it of the inscription described by Mr. Cussans.

Mr. H. F. Holt then read a paper, "On Royal Visitors and Benefactors to St. Alban's Abbey," which will be found at pp. 299-313 *ante*.

Upon the conclusion of the paper, Mr. Roberts said he only wished the Congress could have lasted another week, as nine or ten papers, as interesting as those they had heard, had been passed over for want of time, and he read letters from the Bishop of Oxford and the Duke of Cleveland, expressing the regret they felt that they had been unable to attend their meetings.

Mr. George Wright said that, according to their custom at the close of these meetings, they had now to thank those who had rendered them any assistance during the week. They should always think of their visit to St. Alban's with the greatest interest and pleasure. It

was especially his agreeable duty to propose a vote of thanks to the Mayor, Corporation, and inhabitants of St. Alban's for their hospitable reception of the Association, for wherever they had gone they had been received with an excess of hospitality; he would, therefore, propose "long life and prosperity to the Mayor and Aldermen of the town."

Mr. Blagg acknowledged the vote of thanks.

Mr. Roberts said they had received very great assistance from the local committee and officers. Through the exertions of Mr. Lowe and Mr. Blagg, an excellent working committee had been got together who had done everything in the shortest possible space of time, and had done it well. They had to thank Lord Verulam for allowing the excavations to be made, and for giving a donation towards the expense of making them, although his lordship at first showed a repugnance to the proposal to excavate. Mr. Roberts then referred to the services which had been cheerfully given by the local secretaries, Mr. John Harris and the Rev. P. U. Brown. Mr. Harris, besides conducting a very large correspondence, had several times a day visited the excavations, and undertook the engagement and payment of the workmen. He also mentioned Mr. Blagg and Dr. Lipscomb, and Mr. Kent, as having materially assisted the Congress, and thanked the Mayor for presiding at their meetings. He hoped that some of these gentlemen might become subscribers to the Association, and join them in Congresses elsewhere. The offices of the Association were purely honorary, so that all donations and subscriptions brought into the Society were expended in the publication of the annual volume. To the clergy their hearty thanks were also due. As the custodians of the churches, they had given them all the information in their possession, and had shown them every attention. One of the exceptional circumstances attending the Congress was its proximity to London, which enabled the members to come here very readily, and go away with equal readiness, so that their number was now diminished to a small representative body. Those who had left had, however, commissioned them to express their thanks to the vice-presidents, committee, and inhabitants of St. Alban's for their kind reception of the Congress.

The Rev. J. Lawrence, one of the vice-presidents, in acknowledging the vote of thanks, said they had seen from day to day in the course of this Congress that on the serene heights of science there might be diversity of opinions, and they had also seen far more strikingly how very much might be accomplished by the patient investigation, debate, and studious research with which the various subjects had been dealt with by the learned body who had visited the town.

The Rev. Sir Henry Marsh said he was deputed to thank the President, Vice-President, and officers of the Association, the authors of the papers which had been read, and others who had contributed to

the success of the Congress. He also wished to thank their friends at St. Alban's for the kind hospitality they had shown to the members and visitors. The papers which have been read during the week contained much information, much humour, and much ability, and he would couple the vote of thanks with the name of a gentleman who had contributed two of those papers, Mr. Holt.

Mr. Holt made a short speech in reply, and Mr. Roberts proposed a vote of thanks to the Mayor, which that gentleman briefly acknowledged.

Mr. Lowe tendered the thanks of the town and the Association to Mr. Roberts and Mr. George Wright, to whose untiring exertions the success of the Congress was mainly due, and who, in the discharge of their duties had shown great tact and skill and courtesy.

Mr. Roberts and Mr. Wright acknowledged the compliment, and the Congress was then declared at an end.

During the week of the Congress the following printed books, MSS., and miscellaneous objects from the collection of John Piggot, Esq., jun., F.S.A., were placed by that gentleman on the table of the Council-room in the Town Hall for inspection by the members and their friends:—

1. Collection of about one hundred and fifty large and fine initial letters on vellum, cut from illuminated service books, chiefly foreign, illustrating the art of illumination from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century.

2. MS. of thirteenth century, on vellum, 110 leaves folio, original binding. The first part of the volume (according to J. J. Rasch, of Hamburgh, 1755) is in the autograph of S. Raymond de Pennafort.

3. Latin Bible of the fourteenth century, beautifully written in a very clear hand, on nearly 1000 pages of fine soft vellum. At the first chapter of Genesis is a curious illumination representing the seven days' work in the Creation in seven circular paintings, and many of the initial letters are of elegant design. MS. Bibles of such small size are rare. Bound in oak and old Venetian morocco binding, with interlaced work.

4. Book of "Hours" of the early part of the fifteenth century, on vellum, with two beautiful miniatures, and numerous initial letters, the pages bordered in the ivy-leaf pattern.

5. "Heures de la Vierge," a fine MS. on vellum, in Flemish, enriched with scroll ornaments and initial letters, late fifteenth century.

6. Book of Hours, with foreign illuminations, early sixteenth century, richly bound in the Grolier style.

7. Book of Hours, early sixteenth century, foreign, in several of the pages some very fine early thirteenth century illuminations are inserted.

8. Twenty-one early fifteenth century miniatures, from illuminated service books, mounted in three groups, representing various Scriptural scenes.

9. "Flores Beati Augustini," etc. MS. of the fifteenth century, written on paper, the first page illuminated in the Italian style.

10. Lyra (Nicholas de). A MS. of the fourteenth century, beautifully written on vellum, with curious drawings representing the Vision of Ezekiel, Plans of the Temple, etc. (De Lyra died c. 1340.)

11. Glossa Evangeliorum. A curious Latin MS. bearing the date 1391, written on stout paper, contains 127 coloured initials of a bizarre composition, being good examples of Belgian art of the fourteenth century. This volume formerly belonged to the monastery of Stavelot, in Belgium. Folio, old wooden binding.

12. Early Miniature of Anna Boleyn.

13. Miniature of Mary Queen of Scots, by Wells.

14. Head of a fine Pastoral Staff in ivory, probably a sixteenth century copy of an earlier work.

15. Leaf of a Diptych, carved, with the crucifixion, ivory, fifteenth century.

16. Ditto, Secular subject, fourteenth century.

17. Ditto, Nativity, fifteenth century.

18. Five old deeds, with five seals (a label is attached to each, stating date, etc.)

19. Old horn, with figures of SS. Dominic, Nicholas, Anthony, Francis, and Martin.

20. Cup of Samian ware.

21. Roman bottle found at Colchester.

22. Roman lamp found at Exning, near Newmarket.

23. Ditto, found near Oxford.

24. Ditto, at Colchester.

25. Ditto, ditto.

26. St. Stanislaus. Limoges enamel, by Laudin.

27. Pair of silver bracelets, sixteenth century.

28. *Impressions of Seals*.—Great seals of Edward the Confessor (two varieties) and Edward III (one of the finest of the great seals).

*Monastic*.—S. Alban's; Holyrood, Melrose, and Newbattle, Scotland; Milverton, Somerset; S. Stephen's, Westminster; Dover Priory; S. Giles at Wilton; S. Augustine, Great Grimsby; Merton Priory (ob. and rev.); Evesham Abbey (ob. and rev.); Dominican Convent, Bridgnorth, Salop; Langdon Abbey; Westminster Abbey; S. Osyth Priory, Hatfield Priory, Bileigh Abbey, Tiltey Abbey, Essex; Roger, Abbot of S. Augustine's, Canterbury; Henry, Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury; Roger de la Lee, Prior of Canterbury; Treasurer of S. Augustine's, Canterbury; Thomas Tysbet, Abbot of Tiltey; W. Har-

leton, Abbot of Waltham, 1406; Robert, Prior of Dover, 1345; Edmund of Canterbury, Prior of Bilsington, c. 1350.

Borough Seals of Colchester (ob. and rev.); Chester, Lincoln, Hartlepool (ob. and rev.); bailiffs' seal of Colchester; Reading; Pockington Grammar School, Staple of Lincoln (ob. and rev.); S. John Baptist Hospital at Chester; S. Anthony's Hospital at Bodmin; Richard de Bury, Bishop of Durham; Thomas Burton, Bishop of Sodor and Man; Brechin Cathedral.

*Foreign.*—Anthony Beck, Patriarch of Jerusalem, S. Gercous Convent, Cologne; Chapter of S. Castor at Cardone (Brescia, Italy); Chapter of Udini; Caspar, Bishop of Pomesan, in Poland.

29. Coloured drawing by W. Strutt, of the Jesse Window at Margaretting, Essex.

30. Eight photographs of the Gibbons' carvings at Chatsworth, restored by W. G. Rogers.

31. Photographs of a fine ivory casket of the fourteenth century, illustrative of the romance of the "Chevalier au Signe."

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### Antiquarian Intelligence.

SINCE the publication of the last volume of the *Journal*, numerous works upon archæological subjects have issued from the press, and the *Illustrated London News* now devotes a column monthly to publishing a *resumé* of the progress made in the science of archæology, with an account of the operations carried on in various parts of the country. This is an admirable practice, and gives all those who are interested in antiquarian pursuits a constant opportunity of keeping themselves informed upon the subject.

One of the most important and interesting controversies of the past year has been that which has taken place in reference to the correct reading of the celebrated Moabite Stone. It is now generally agreed that this most curious relic dates from about nine hundred years before the Christian era, and the inscription on it is consequently older than two-thirds of the Old Testament. The Rev. D. Ginsburg, in describing and illustrating it to the British Association, remarked that out of the twelve or fifteen Moabite cities mentioned in the Bible, eleven were enumerated in the inscription upon this stone.

We may announce as preparing for publication, by Mr. John B. Day, of 3, Savoy-street, Strand, a work which promises to be of much value and interest, entitled *The Stone Monuments, Tumuli, and Ornaments, of Remote Ages, with some Notes on early Irish Architecture*, collected and

described by J. B. Waring, F.R.I.B.A., author of *The Arts connected with Architecture in Central Italy*,—*Illustrations of Architecture and Ornament in Italy, Germany, Spain, etc.*,—*The Manchester Art Treasures*, 1857,—*Architecture and Sculpture at Burgos and Miraflores, etc.*, etc. "This," as the author remarks, "is the only work on the subject by which the public can obtain a complete idea of the present state of our knowledge concerning these remarkable monuments of prehistoric times. It will consist of more than one hundred plates, containing in all between six and seven hundred subjects. About seventy plates are dedicated to the ancient stone monuments of the class called Druidical, the remainder being illustrative of ornamental art in bronze and the precious metals, ending about the eighth century. To those interested in the past, as well as to the antiquarian, architect, and collector, the work will be of considerable service, containing, as it will, in one volume, examples from all parts of the world, which have been obtained by the most extensive research in books not easily accessible to the public, and from unpublished photographs, as well as some original drawings." Full and critical descriptive text will accompany the plates, which will be one hundred and eight in number. The size will be imperial 4to. The price to subscribers, £3 3s.; to non-subscribers, £4 4s.

We may also call attention to the following works :

*Grave-Mounds and their Contents, a Manual of Archaeology, as exemplified in the Burials of the Celtic, the Romano-British, and the Anglo-Saxon Periods*, by Llewellyn Jewitt, F.S.A., etc.; with nearly five hundred illustrations. 8vo, London, 1870.—The author of this work may justly pride himself on having published a peculiarly interesting and useful volume; and he has most ably carried out the object which he had in view, which was, to use his own words, "to give in as brief a form as was consistent with a clear description of the objects, a faithful picture of the endless stores of treasures which the grave-mounds of our earliest forefathers open out to us; and to point out, with the aid of illustrations, the characteristics of each of the three great divisions, so as to enable any readers correctly to appropriate any remains which may come under their notice."

*Popular Antiquities of Great Britain, comprising Notices of the Moveable and Immoveable Feasts, Customs, Superstitions, and Amusements, past and present*. Edited from the materials collected by John Brand, F.S.A.; with very large Corrections and Additions by W. Carew Hazlitt; with a new and copious Index. 3 vols., London. John Russell Smith, 1870.—Besides Mr. Hazlitt's additions there are a few chapters on Cornish folk-lore, by Mrs. Couch, which add considerably to the interest of the work, which was edited some years ago by Sir Henry Ellis. The

edition by Mr. Hazlitt is more readable than the former one, and the value of the whole is considerably enhanced by the new index which has been added to it.

*Syllabus (in English) of the Documents relating to England and other Kingdoms, contained in the Collection known as Rymer's Fœdera.* By Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy. Vol. i, 8vo. Longmans & Co., 1870.

*The History of Hertfordshire (Parts I, II),* by John Edward Cussans, contains the hundred of Braughing, and is the first instalment of a history which is intended to give an account of the descent of the various manors, pedigrees of families connected with the county, antiquities, local customs, etc., compiled from original MSS. in the British Museum, Record Office, parochial Registers, local archives, and collections, in the possession of private families. (Folio; Hertford, 1870.) It is very valuable for its exceedingly full index; and each of the eight hundreds is to be complete in itself. Only three hundred copies are to be printed. Besides dry facts there is an abundance of legend, anecdote, and antiquarian gossip in the book, which is superbly illustrated; and it will therefore afford not only instruction but amusement to its readers.

*The Celtic Tumuli of Dorset, an Account of personal and other Researches in the sepulchral Mounds of the Durotriges,* by Chas. Warne, Esq., F.S.A., and a member of our Association. Folio; London, 1870.

*Flint Chips, a Guide to Prehistoric Archaeology, as illustrated by the Collection in the Blackmore Museum, Salisbury.* By Edward T. Stevens, Hon. Curator of the Museum. 8vo; London, 1870.

*Rome and the Campagna; an historical and topographical Description of the Site, Buildings, and Neighbourhood of Ancient Rome.* By Robert Burn, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. With seventy-one engravings and twenty-five maps and plans. 4to; London, 1870.—The value and utility of the work are enhanced by complete indexes not only of all the subjects treated of, but of all the passages quoted from classical writers, and a list of modern authorities on Roman topography and architecture.

*L'Homme Primitif, par Louis Figuier, ouvrage illustré de 30 scènes de la vie de l'homme primitif, composées par Emile Bayard, et de 232 figures représentant les objets usuels des premiers âges de l'humanité.* 8vo; Paris, 1870. A translation into English has also been published during the year, with all the original illustrations. The scope of the work will be best perceived in the following extract from the English's translator's preface: "The present volume takes up the subject of prehistoric man, beginning with the remotely ancient stages of human life belonging to the drift-beds, bone-caves, and shell-heaps; passing on through

the higher levels of the stone age, through the succeeding bronze age, and into those lower ranges of the iron age in which civilisation, raised to a comparatively high development, passes from the hands of the antiquary into those of the historian. The author's object has been to give, within the limits of a volume, and dispensing with the fatiguing enumeration of details required in special memoirs, an outline sufficient to afford a reasonable working acquaintance with the facts and arguments of the science to such as cannot pursue it farther; and to serve as a starting-ground for those who will follow it up in the more minute researches of Nilsson, Keller, Lartet, Christy, Lubbock, Mortillet, Desor, Troyon, Gastaldi, and others."

A translation of the important limestone tablet discovered in 1866 at San in Lower Egypt, on the site of the ancient Tanis, has been published by Mr. Samuel Sharpe. This remarkable ancient document, so to speak, is called the "Decree of Campus." It is 7 ft. high and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ft. wide, and the purport of it is to register a synodical decree in honour of Ptolemy Euergetes the first and Berenice, which is dated in the ninth year of the king's reign, *i.e.* B.C. 239. It is as complete as when it was first carved, in seven hieroglyphic and seventy-six Greek lines, and neither a letter or character is wanting. Thus it is in some respects quite as valuable as the famous Rosetta stone, in which one-third of the hieroglyphic portion only remained, and a considerable part of the Greek had been broken off. The stone has also been translated by MM. Reinesch and Rössler of Vienna, and Professor R. Lepsius of Berlin; and Mr. Sharpe's translation will now render it intelligible to English readers.

An archæological committee has been appointed during the past year in Ceylon for the purpose of exploring the ruined sacred cities of the island and collecting inscriptions. Several of the cities have been already cleared of the jungle, and many remarkably curious antiquities of a type hitherto unknown have been discovered. Photographs of the most important of these objects and their sites have been taken, and the enterprise, which is still proceeding vigorously, promises most interesting results. The Governor of the island, Sir Hercules Robinson, encourages the undertaking with his warmest support, and, to judge from the photographs which have been already sent home, a work upon the antiquities of Ceylon will appear at no distant day, which will prove a most valuable addition to the sources which we already possess for the study of oriental history and antiquities.

While speaking of oriental archæology we may observe that the *Illustrations of Ancient Buildings in Kashmir*, prepared by the order of the Government of India by H. H. Cole, Assist. R.E., and the *Reports on the Illustration of the Archaic Architecture of India*, etc., by Dr.

Forbes Watson, with appendices, are now added to the India Museum. A notice of these important works will be found in the *Athenæum* for 26 November, 1870, where it is stated that "so wealthy is India in materials for such a survey that no country in the world can be compared with it; for example, in the single collectorate of Bellary there are no fewer than 2,129 cromlechs, kistvaens, etc." Lieutenant Cole's work comprises photographs printed by the autotype process, and, therefore, permanent, taken during 1868 on a journey from Cawnpore to Murree, and thence to Kashmir (where Srinagar and other sites were visited and views obtained), with descriptive letter-press, the whole forming one handsome volume.

A second volume of the survey illustrating buildings near Muttra and Agra, of the mixed Hindu-Mohammedan style, has also been prepared by Lieutenant H. H. Cole, and is announced as being nearly ready for publication.

We understand also that the publication of the late Mr. Papworth's *Ordinary of British Armorial*, which was suspended by a long and painful illness, is about to be resumed upon different terms under a competent editor; and that the new terms of publication will be such that even those subscribers who discontinued their subscriptions early will be able to obtain the remainder of the work at a moderate price.

## British Archaeological Association.

### BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING THE 31ST DEC. 1869.

1869	RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.	1869	EXPENDITURE.	£	s.	d.
	Balance due to the Association at the audit of 1869		332	2	10	Printing and publishing <i>Journal</i>	214	11	9
	Annual and Life-Subscriptions		357	2	9	Illustrations to the same	128	4	2
	Balance of St. Alban's Congress		113	6	6	Miscellaneous printing	10	0	0
	Sale of publications		11	13	6	Rent, for 1869, of rooms at Sackville-street, and clerk's salary	59	2	3
			<u>£814</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	Delivery of <i>Journals</i>	19	7	10
						Petty expenses, carriage of antiquities, gratuities, postages, stamps, advertisements, and notices	9	19	8
						Stationery	1	3	6
						" Balance in hands of Treasurer	£442	9	2
							371	16	5
							<u>£814</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>

We have examined the accounts and vouchers connected with the above balance sheet, and have found them correct.

(Signed) T. F. DILLON CROKER, F.S.A. }  
 J. O. HALLIWELL, F.R.S., F.S.A. } *Auditors.*

27th Dec. 1870.

## THE TREASURER'S REPORT, 1870.

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THE Auditors have examined the accounts for the year 1869, and attested the balance-sheet by their signatures. This balance-sheet was laid before the General Meeting in June 1870, according to the ordinary practice on these occasions; but the audit had not then taken place; and this, an unusual departure from our routine, was occasioned, as was then reported, by the absence of the formal account of one of our officers, and of the proceeds then in his hands. A certain amount was then understood to be due; and this has since proved to be correct, the amount in question having been recently remitted to the Treasurer. On the completion of this transaction the services of the Auditors were at once put in requisition. One of them, Mr. Lionel Oliver, had in the meantime removed his residence into the country, so that his attendance could not be had. Mr. J. O. Halliwell has consequently acted for Mr. Oliver, by his consent, and has completed the audit with Mr. T. F. Dillon Croker for his colleague.

Our two principal sources of revenue, the subscriptions and the Congress, which in 1868 exhibited a falling off, have handsomely recovered in 1869. Particularly we must congratulate ourselves on the results of the St. Alban's Congress,—a success mainly due to our Hon. Secretary, Mr. E. Roberts, who took the lead in the management of that business.

The balance in the Treasurer's hands, £371 : 16 : 5, is still charged with the outlay upon the second volume of the *Collectanea*, which is now in the press. Upon its completion this balance will be diminished by about £150. On the credit side of the account, the Treasurer is charged, on the whole, with £814 : 5 : 7. On the side of expenditure, the items vary but little from the usual course; the whole expenditure, £442 : 9 : 2, exceeding by about £16 that of the preceding year. Against the balance, except the cost of the *Collectanea*, there are no debts, nor any outstanding accounts.

During the year 1869 nineteen associates were elected, and thirty-three joined at, or in right of their aid given to, the St. Alban's Congress; eighteen associates retired, and eleven died. The Council also ordered the erasure from our lists of nine names of members whose subscriptions were four years and more in arrear. Gentlemen who, from inadvertence, or want of attention to the notices sent to them,

subject themselves to this erasure, cannot unfortunately be reached by these observations; but they should have borne in mind that in receiving the *Journals* of the Society, in every case for two years, and in several cases for more than two years, without paying their subscriptions, they commit a gross act of injustice against the whole Society; the direct loss in the value of books supplied, and not paid for, in the case of these nine defaulters, being not less than twenty-five guineas.

It will not, it is believed, be deemed out of place to remark here that the Council, down to the present time, has never ceased to endeavour to secure improved accommodation for the evening meetings and for the library of the Association; but the scarcity of such accommodation as would be suitable, and their desire not to diminish the funds which go towards the Society's publications, has hitherto prevented the realisation of their wishes on this head. A scheme lately put forward by the Statistical Society, to provide, by the erection of one building, for the accommodation of a number of scientific associations, was fully considered by the Council. It was open to this objection, that few, if any, of the societies concerned had a legal *status* enabling them to hold such property; and that the scheme was far too large and expensive to have any promise of success, or of remunerative return for the outlay. It was the opinion of some of our members that a moderate project, if taken in hand by a limited liability company, would secure tenants enough amongst such associations as ours to gain a remunerative return; and that the best chance of success would occur if a sufficient number of gentlemen from the various Societies would combine, each person on his own responsibility, to form such a company as the Architectural Union Company (Limited), and to provide housing for other institutions as that Company has done for the housing of the different architectural associations.

GORDON M. HILLS,  
*Hon. Treasurer.*

December 28, 1870.

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